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### THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXXII

FEBRUARY, 1937

NUMBER 5

#### **Editorial**

#### ON TO NASHVILLE

The thirty-third annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South will be held at Nashville, Tennessee, March 25, 26, 27, 1937.

The place of meeting is central and readily accessible from the states that provide the bulk of our membership. Tennessee in the springtime should make an irresistible appeal.

The popularity of Nashville as a place of meeting in the past is clearly shown by the fact that Chicago alone has been more frequently selected. In the thirty-three years of its existence, the Association has met five times in Chicago and four times in St. Louis. This will be our fourth time of meeting in Nashville. Cincinnati, Cleveland, Iowa City, and New Orleans have each served twice as our hosts; a dozen other cities have been visited once each.

Many of the members of the Association have pleasant memories of our meeting at Nashville in 1928, under the able presidency of Professor Charles E. Little. We recall our interesting sessions on three college campuses: Ward-Belmont, Vanderbilt University, and George Peabody College for Teachers; the enjoyable trips to the Parthenon and the Hermitage; and above all the characteristic Southern hospitality that made this meeting so notable.

Professor Little has generously consented to act as chairman of the Local Committee for our 1937 meeting, and we may anticipate the same friendly reception and careful planning for our comfort and entertainment that have marked previous visits. The Hotel Hermitage has again been chosen as our official head-quarters.

An interesting program is in process of preparation and will be published, as usual, in the March number of the Classical Journal. The fact that the Latin Section of the Tennessee Education Association, under the chairmanship of Professor Ashton W. Mc-Whorter, is to meet with us at the same time and place, and that there will be no separate meeting of the Southern section of the Classical Association this year gives assurance of a good attendance from the state and from the South generally. On this account also we would suggest that our members make their hotel reservations immediately.

May I urge all members of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South throughout its territory to make a special effort to attend the Nashville meeting. The times demand unusual interest and coöperation on the part of all who are engaged in the teaching of the classics. The place is ideal as a center for our meeting. Come to Nashville!

CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW

#### THE OCTOBER EDITORIAL

This editorial has been reprinted to the number of 3000 copies for the benefit of all friends of the classics who think they can use it to advantage. Copies will be supplied in any reasonable number to those who apply to the Editor.

#### PORTRAIT OF A HOMERIC SCHOLAR

By HARRY LEVIN Society of Fellows, Harvard University

Professors of the classics have reached a point where they spend their time apologizing for their subject. They are apt to promise those who follow their dwindling courses a unique opportunity to undergo a moral discipline, to attain the marks of caste, or at least to assure themselves a comfortable academic career. Milman Parry disdained such inducements himself and refused to offer them to others. The study of Greek, he had found, is its own reward, and he never attempted to justify it on any but a personal and aesthetic plane. He once recruited a cast for the production of a tragedy by holding before them the privilege of memorizing several hundred lines of Sophocles. It delighted him to think that a single year of declensions and conjugations was all that stood between the ordinary individual and the grandest of poems.

An extraordinary individual, he had not delayed for that year of grammatical probation. He had not come upon the language until he left his modest Quaker family and crossed the bay to study chemistry at the University of California. The things he valued meant all the more to him because he had not always been able to count upon them. The illumination which Greek suddenly shed on an overburdened adolescence led him through Homer and Hesiod and whatever he could find of the earliest monuments, without other guides. When a distinguished Harvard scholar visited Berkeley in 1923, he had a pupil who had qualified himself for stringent graduate studies in Pindar and Aeschylus.

Parry was proud of possessing the oldest and rarest of academic degrees. Although Frenchmen have been known to take fourteen years in achieving it, the Sorbonne awarded him its doctorate in four, and he defended his theses with the highest success before a jury which reads like a bibliography of modern classical scholarship. Even more than the University and its methods, perhaps, French thought and life had their effect upon so suggestible an intelligence as his. There he must have acquired that feeling for tradition which continued to haunt him, that ability to deal with the past through association of ideas, that same sense of the cultural continuity of Mediterranean civilization, from the Trojan War to our own day, which is present in the thought of Paul Valéry, the critic with whom he was most in sympathy.

Against the cosmopolite background, his return to America contrasted unsatisfactorily. Parry was capable of meeting fully civilized or definitely uncivilized people on their own ground, but not of reaching his level on the faculty of a small middle-western college. The souvenirs of that year which he was happiest to take with him to Harvard were a pair of handsome white dogs, the larger worthy of the name of Argos. He used to wash them in Fresh Pond until a policemen abruptly informed him that it also served as the Cambridge reservoir and he was forced to stride home after two lathered and shivering animals. That was not the only occasion on which he reminded his friends of another connoisseur of heroic lore, Don Quixote.

It is easy to recall the exhilaration of a Harvard freshman when, after an anticipated routine of parsing and scanning, Parry would dismiss Terence and introduce Molière and Sacha Guitry, or further illustrations from comic supplements and burlesque shows. Six years ago there was still an aura of the Latin Quarter about him; it may have been the black hat, or the beard he wore for a while, or his collection of drawings by Marie Laurencin, or his relish for such unclassical poets as Laforgue, Apollinaire, Eliot, and Cummings. Literal-minded graduate students sometimes complained that they would carefully collate a passage in Tacitus and be greeted with a lecture on its use by Racine, or that those who wanted to know the history of textual criticism of Thucydides were asked to criticize Spengler's theories of history. But significant technical matters were treated with ingenuity and detail. To clarify some of the perplexities of ancient versification, he even invented a device for reckoning metres on a graph.

The scholar's mind was not, so far as Parry was concerned, a warehouse to be stocked up with job lots of assorted erudition and prefabricated opinions. It was an instrument to be kept sharp and bright by constant and skilful use. As a confessed disciple of Erasmus and of Renan, he preferred dialectic to dogma. He had a knack of sweeping through any field of learning that lay near his venturesome path. It was impossible to be exposed to him during those periods of assimilation without catching a little of his enthusiasm for an unexpected variety of subjects. There was method in his excursions; music, Slavic, ethnology, mnemonic psychology were exploited for the benefit of Homer; his articles, his teaching, his casual conversation tended insistently in a direction that critics and general students of literature may find it profitable to pursue.

The problem to which Milman Parry devoted the best efforts of his short career has been a subject of learned inquiry for more than two millenniums. Such subjects need to be approached again with extreme wariness and Parry was not in the habit of taking things for granted. He never solved the Homeric Question; he demonstrated that it was irrelevant. He had suspected, and experience afield confirmed his suspicion, that it is more difficult to frame the right questions than to find the right answers. What we know about literature is based largely on the personalities of of writers, on the originality of their expression and the realism with which they reflect the interests of their times. These critical concepts, filled out by the facts about Vergil and Milton, adequately account for the Aeneid and Paradise Lost, but they bring us no nearer the secret of the Iliad and the Odyssey.

The peculiarities of the epic, as practised by "literary" poets, are readily explained by pointing to the example of Homer. But why did Homer, with presumably no one to imitate, choose to confine himself so strictly and to adapt the telling of his tales to a particular set of conventions? Parry's way of finding out was to examine the texts, to keep his eye on the object, to scrutinize the form for a clue to the function. He studied first the language, or the words available to the poet, then the diction, or the words selected, and finally the style, or the way in which the poet used

them. Scholars had long surmised that the Greek epic must have been recited before it was written, but his statistical and philological analyses showed exactly how and why it had been composed.

He fixed upon a distinctive unit of Homeric style in its repetitions, so that he was able to tabulate the traditional epithets, the fixed metaphors, and the other recurrent ways of describing a situation. Early singers—and verse is originally song—may well have been able to draw upon this body of formulas for the purpose of rounding out their hexametres, just as the rhythm itself helped to make the story memorable. Parry's theory presupposed more than guilds of professional poets, illiterate and often blind, but skilled in a technique of oral narration that had been elaborately developed and continued to be rigidly enforced; it implied communities which knew what to listen for, whose traditions had fashioned these poets and were in turn refashioned by them.

Had Parry been content to confine his researches to the classics, his views, however cogent, would have remained a hypothesis. But his broad training and his concern with method carried him beyond that stage, since he regarded himself as primarily an anthropologist of literature. By that he did not mean that he looked upon his subject as an amorphous mass of documents out of which the history of custom and ritual could be conveniently reconstructed. He considered literature itself the richest and most sensitive of human institutions—not a two-dimensional page in a book, but a rounded organism comprising the people by and for whom it was created. He foresaw the possibility of establishing a physiology of literature, of investigating the way it works, the necessities which call it into being, the circumstances under which it flourishes.

Before the development of writing, poetry occupied a universal place, for it taught people how to regard things. Today, after centuries dominated by a line of men of letters who exercised their calling as a medium of self-expression, it might be noted that a school has arisen which again utilizes literature as a means of consciously manipulating the emotions toward a conventional ethic. Glory was not, to Sarpedon, the will-o'-the-wisp that sonneteers

and historians and journalists later made of it, but a chattel which poets had the power to confer and on which the prestige of chieftains depended. By accepting the epic as a phenomenon that occurs under a given series of social conditions, Parry was able to supply himself with a number of parallels for comparative study.

Homer, then, is to be understood not by consulting later classical authors or professed imitations in other languages, but by relating him to a context which includes Beowulf, the Song of Roland, and the Eddas, along with the popular poetry carried on today among the Tartars, the Afghans, or the southern Slavs. Notably in Jugoslavia, where newspapers and mechanical innovations have not quite levelled the patriarchal pattern of living, and where memories of Balkan battles and of Marko, the King's son, are still vivid, a waning generation of oral poets struggles to maintain its art. Here was a laboratory for Parry in which actual observation might determine how the singers built up their repertory and transmitted their craft, or what effect changes of time and place had upon their dialects, verses, and themes.

The fruit of his two South Slavic expeditions—more than a ton of manuscripts, typewritten commentaries, printed matter, photographs, instruments, and phonograph records—is now the property of the Harvard College Library. He had hoped, after completing his collection and transcription, to edit texts and translations of the more representative poems. It was a comprehensive scheme, but Parry was thirty-three. His conclusions would have ripened into a monograph which Homer was to share with Huso, the blind and venerated gouslar to whom he attributed the best of the Slavic poems he had discovered. First-hand familiarity with the processes of oral literature had increased his estimate of the rôle a gifted poet can play. Conversely, it had convinced him that no individual is able to stray far beyond the accumulated tradition in which he is writing.

To trace the logical steps that drew Parry's attention to the Balkans is one thing; to characterize the energy that took him there is another. A less confident nature, recoiling as he had done from the tawdriness of California, might have been only too willing to settle into the gentility of New England. With a sympa-

thetic wife and two children who were fond of listening to his heroic lore, with an international reputation and the admiration of students and colleagues, his future as a Harvard professor seemed obvious to all except himself. There was in him a scholar-gypsy whom no amount of composition papers and committee meetings could tame.

It is clear that he thought of his work less and less in academic terms, that he would have gone on enlarging the scope of his activities. He loved to meet the contingencies of travel, to tinker with his recording machine, to visit the local pashas and exchange amenities, to ply his gouslars with wine and listen to their lies. He attained native shrewdness in apportioning their pay to the jealous canons of village renown and in detecting stale or contaminated material when it was foisted on him. He not only spoke the language, he produced the appropriate gestures and inflections. He respected the hierarchical nicety with which his hosts handed out the different cuts of meat. Their outlook seemed invested with an order that he had not encountered among the schools and movements of the civilization that had formed his own.

The mood of primitivism in so cultivated a mentality is not altogether surprising. It was not a romantic aberration, for Parry slight though he was, had the emotional grasp of one who has supported himself since the age of thirteen. Despite his deftness in argument, philosophy and anything he labelled "critical theory" made him restless; frequently he would cut the knot of abstract discussion by appealing to "reality." In speech he shunned foreign phrases and Latinate words, seeking the simplest and most concrete English. His writing reveals sensibility of judgment, catholicity of taste, a rigorous method, an historical point of view—all the valuable qualities of the modern intellectual, including a distrust of the intellect.

Parry was anxious not to be taken in by the rationalizations and self-deceptions essential to the comfort of most minds. His kind of skepticism derived from an acute perception of uncertainty, of what Sophocles called "the chances of life." Even for hours of fatigue, he chose books about the War or films of action, because he felt that lighter entertainment attempted to soften and glide

over the facts of human existence. At one time, he assumed responsibility for turning down a dissertation that seemed to start from false premises, although his elders had already approved and it meant years to some student. He appreciated the dilemma and it distressed him, but he could not let private sentiment or official conformity obscure what he conceived to be the truth.

His Homeric apprehension of the harshness of events was fulfilled by his death. The accident in Los Angeles on the third of December, 1935, was as trivial and pointless as that which killed his hero, Colonel Lawrence of Arabia, a few months before. Lawrence, like Parry, had been a scholar. Parry, like Lawrence, recognized in an alien people the dignity and magnanimity he had missed in his own world. To him, as to Lawrence, the heroic values were no less real than the unexpected explosion of a loaded pistol. They had given him not only a sense of reality, but an idealistic interpretation of it. He knew that experience was really sudden and violent; he believed that it could also be noble and tragic.

The moment he cherished most occurred toward the end of one of his earliest days in the Serbian hills, during the summer of 1933. They had settled at an inland village and at length come across a gouslar, the first epic poet Parry had ever known, an old man who claimed to have been a warrior in youth and to have cut off six heads. All afternoon he sang to them about his battles. At sunset he put down his gousle and they made him repeat a number of his verses. Parry, very tired, sat munching an apple and watching the singer's grizzled head and dirty neck bob up and down over the shoulder of Nikola, the Herzegovinan scribe, in a last ray of sunlight. "I suppose," he would say, in recalling the incident, with crisp voice and half-closed eyes, "that was the closest I ever got to Homer."

This closeness to the object is the best measure of his achievement as a Homeric scholar, and as a technician who reached literary criticism from an independent and profound approach. "How can we seize the physiognomy and the originality of the early literatures if we do not enter the moral and intimate life of a people, if we do not place ourselves at the very point in humanity which it occupied in order to see and feel with it, if we do not watch it live, or rather if we do not live for a while with it?" This question, from Renan's essay on the future of science, he had asked himself at the outset. The years at his disposal he spent in answering it, in bringing his own vitality and the apparatus of science and scholarship to bear upon the nature of the literary process, in penetrating dead languages, extinct traditions, and scholastic encrustations to the life at their core.

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#### LATIN AND THE RECONSTRUCTIONISTS1

By Dorrance S. White University of Iowa

Thirty-seven years ago Professor A. E. Bennett issued this warning:

The friends of Latin should soberly consider that the study is now on trial as never before. The attacks against it are not merely reactionary, nor do they proceed alone from the prejudiced or the ill-informed. They represent in many instances the deliberate convictions of serious students of the problems of education. . . . If the study is to retain its position as a permanent part of the school curriculum, it can do so only by the positive results it shows itself capable of producing. Whether these shall commend themselves to educators will depend not upon any theoretical claims or advantages of the study, but upon wise and efficient instruction.<sup>2</sup>

We are glad to note that Professor Bennett generously admitted that those who attacked the classical languages in his day were serious students of the problems of education and spoke from deliberate convictions. Today, other serious students of the problem of adjusting the curriculum to the changing demands of our national, social, and economic life feel justified in demanding that the entire curriculum structure be scrapped and another be erected to carry out their philosophy of education. They are asking for a larger place for civics, sociology, economics, political and industrial history, and geography. They would designate a smaller place, if any at all, for languages mathematics, and sciences. They propose to place social studies in a central and dominant position with other subjects grouped around them which can pass the test of contributing to society-centered education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Condensed from a paper read before the Latin section of the Northeastern Indiana Teachers' Association, October 22, 1936.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> C. E. Bennett and G. P. Bristol, The Teaching of Latin and Greek in the Secondary School: New York, Longmans Green and Company (1901, - out of print), 214.

Curriculum-builders lament that so large a proportion of educators still cherish the ancient excellence of classical scholarship. They realize that the modern system of education has been a development from the aristocratic social system of early colonial days, whose core curriculum was Latin, Greek, mathematics, and natural philosophy. They insist, with considerable justice, that the education of the Virginia gentleman of 1671 is ill-suited to the demands of modern life. That the gulf between the educational outlook of today and that of 1671 is wide is shown by Governor Berkeley's exclamation, "I thank God that there are no free schools nor printing presses, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years." For one hundred and fifty years no educator presumed to challenge this core curriculum. During this period the standards of scholarship were set by such institutions as Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary College. Classical studies held a monopoly because modern science was in its infancy, modern literatures were but little developed, and the social sciences, as we know them, unheard of. Then Horace Mann, a secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, propounded a new philosophy that

Education should be a preparation for life, domestic, economic, social, political, and not merely the acquisition of curious learning, elegant scholarship, or showy accomplishments. Its end should be the attainment of moral and social personality.<sup>3</sup>

It should please the curriculum-builders that the curriculum has been moving constantly toward these ideals of Horace Mann.

It has been an interesting history of concessions made by advocates of classical scholarship since the pronouncement of Horace Mann. The social science theorists have been justified in demanding these concessions in a changing society. We concede the folly of returning to a period when boys entered Latin grammar schools at an early age and spent their school years in a weary grind on Latin grammar. We also concede that the so-called disciplinary values of Latin, Greek, and mathematics in that early curriculum

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Thomas Davidson, A History of Education: New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons (1909), 251.

were too highly esteemed and rated. But in the same breath we must point out that that ancient curriculum produced the statesman, Alexander Hamilton, and the social scientists, Thomas Jefferson and Horace Mann. What mental nourishment fed the minds of that brilliant galaxy of statesmen and literary men of the early nineteenth century? Was it civics, political science, sociology, and geography per se? No; it was the classical languages whose subject-matter gave to each boy a wide experience in politics, social systems, and ethical conduct. And if our bewigged pedagogue over-emphasized the disciplinary values of classical study, its modern critics have underrated the emotional and stimulative power of the content of the classical field.

In early education the foremost scholars taught the classical languages. Sandy's *History of Classical Scholarship* presents an imposing list of Latin teachers and scholars through the centuries. From Erasmus to Bennett not only were teachers of Latin and Greek the foremost scholars of the day, but these gentlemen were the advance educationists of their day, constantly examining their methods of teaching. As early as 1754 one John Clarke, in a preface to his textbook,<sup>4</sup> strongly dissents from the prevailing method of teaching Latin:

Alas! There is not time at school for boys to lodge in their memories one tenth part of the matter those gentlemen have amassed together. The whole of the Latin Grammar is a large thing, far from being given us by any one grammarian that I know of. And it is no more practicable to make boys, by the usual time of sending them to the university, perfect masters of it than it is to make them by that age compleat mathematicians or accomplished philosophers. The attempt would be ridiculous, and of very ill consequence, as being inconsistent with the due progress of youth in other things of much greater concern and importance to them than punctilio's in grammar.

During the past ten years I have examined dozens of old Latin textbooks in the secondary field, beginning with Lily's first-year book of 1651, all of whose prefaces show that Latin teachers of each succeeding decade examined themselves anew with regard to objective, content, and method. Barnas Sears in 1844 warned

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John Clarke, A New Grammar of the Latin Tongue: London (1754), Preface to the fourth edition.

against overloading the pupil's memory with disconnected material and recommended a more thorough study of a smaller amount of Latin. He is conscious that if teachers would attend to this, the result would be that the pupil would "possess a feeling of assurance and a consciousness of power that would render the exertions of his faculties in the study of the language a delight rather than a task." He also warned against the danger of bad "made Latin" and earnestly besought teachers to try to understand their pupils and to be sympathetic toward their struggle to learn.

These old prefaces are veritable histories of education and record the process of attempts to humanize the teaching of Latin and other subjects. Many of us have lived through the period when the public high school assumed a dual function, that of providing a basic preparation of training in the ancient Greek and Latin languages for those who were to enter college and of providing a minimum requirement of education for good citizenship for those who could not continue on to college. We have also lived through the period when Latin was reduced from a four-year requirement for college entrance to one of two years; and now we are asked to make a one-year unit show historical, cultural, and disciplinary values that justify the study for a single year.

For a quarter of a century curriculum-builders have contended for more varied and interesting activities of the school day and they have asked that these activities be related to the life that the child lives during his school period and the social life that he will face later; that school experience be the forerunner of life experience; that the subject-matter captivate his interest and direct his effort. No group of teachers has been so alive to the challenge of changing society as the teachers of Latin. Convinced of the enormous contribution made to the curriculum by language studies, both ancient and modern, with their wealth of ideas, political and social, their capacity for moral and ethical indoctrination, they have constantly examined themselves and their work to bring their method and content into accord with developing American life.

In 1909 the traditional standard course in secondary school

Latin was too restricted. The survey committee of 1894 had recommended four books of Caesar, six orations of Cicero, and six books of Vergil. The chief objective of Latin study, they said, should be to prepare for subsequent work in Latin, and that teachers should disregard the remoter ends of the study. And in the year 1899, when Professor Bennett made his plea for better teaching in order to make secure the place of Latin in the curriculum, a committee of twelve recommended more books of Caesar, more orations of Cicero, more books of the Aeneid than the amount recommended in 1894. The committee of 1909, although still advocating that the reading of college Latin should be the main objective, recommended a more varied reading content. The recommendations of this committee marked as a whole an advance in the kind and amount of Latin to be read.

In 1921, as you may remember, a very pretentious investigation of Latin teaching in the secondary schools was inaugurated. Out of that survey with its voluminous report came evidences of, and recommendations for, greater emphasis upon the cultural side of Latin study and a closer integration with the modern foreign languages and with English. Those remoter objectives, so summarily disregarded in 1894, objectives to be achieved by discussions of how the ancient Romans lived and thought, their political and ethical ideals, what constituted good citizenship in ancient Rome, by classical club programs and plays, by all things that contribute toward making the student more keenly conscious of his present political and social environment, were recommended as worthy to play a prominent part in the activities of the Latin classroom.

But undoubtedly the best way in which Latin teaching presents proof that it has been keeping pace with the changing curriculum and the changing philosophies back of the curriculum is the textbook. The modern Latin textbook for beginners is a marvel of scientific construction. It appeals to both eye and mind. It has a definite scheme of work built around sound principles of the educative process. It is almost self-teaching. It is so flexible in the hands of the capable teacher that her methods may be suited to student aptitudes and community needs.

There are at least ten first-class Latin textbooks for beginners and as many for those of the second year. Every one of them conforms in the main to the important principles laid down in the classical surveys of recent years. They differ chiefly in the amount of emphasis that they accord these principles. They are attractive in their pictorial decoration and in excellence of format. They review basic English grammar and correlate it with Latin constructions. Throughout the work of two years they keep constantly in mind the contribution that the study of Latin can make to the pupil's knowledge and use of English. They arrange the principles of syntax so that there will be no congestion. They restrict the vocabulary both with regard to the total number of words to be mastered and the number for daily drill. They give the right emphasis to derivative study, make it progressive, keep it within the pupil's comprehension and make it capable of sustaining his interest. Finally, they provide amply for the important historicalcultural objectives by furnishing an appropriate type of reading material: myths, legends, pictures, quotations, facts of Roman public and private life, with opportunities through adequate suggestions for more extensive readings in this field.

The best books also provide, through teaching manuals as well as hints placed in the books themselves, for the most effective ways of treating various lesson-units, in order to achieve an integration of Latin with other subjects of the curriculum and make it function vitally in the life of young students. Of course, all language study lends itself naturally and unconsciously to integration. We Latin teachers have always been integrationists. And the product that we turn out we intend to be a highly integrated person. Who ever taught Caesar who did not compare violated territory of today with that of the Allobroges violated by the Helvetians? Who could follow the campaigns of Caesar and leave unmentioned the political and moral implications of Rome's pan-Romanism? It is too obvious to call to the reader's attention that the traditional six orations of Cicero are materia politica, the Manilian Law a treatise on citizenship and character, the poetry of Vergil a plea for patriotism and piety.

This emphasis upon the social, ethical, and political side of

classical study is not a new thing. There is nothing more natural than to pause often during the recitation and ask the pupil to reflect what social or political force instigated the Romans to make the move that the author describes. The alert Latin teacher, interested in the world about him, will draw comparisons extempore between the matter on the printed page and the world that his pupils are beginning to know. The charges of our critics are not true that we grind our pupils between the stones of dry technique and laborious translation. Only the dull, unambitious, unsympathetic, backward-looking teacher could miss the rich pastures of classical study.

The advocates of the program of the social studies as the core of the curriculum are enthusiastic integrationists. A program of natural integration among the subjects of the curriculum is certainly intelligent and praiseworthy, but some enthusiasts run to extreme lengths both in subject-matter and in the teaching of it. For example, in the Lincoln School, New York City, a pupil in a history class was studying in her music an opera of Wagner. The teacher of that class began with the Wagnerian opera as a pivotal point and taught the history of Wagner's times, political, religious, and artistic. How interesting and instructive! But consider the confusion, waste, and overlapping when in a series of classes over a period of years a different pivotal point is used in each class! And what would be an adequate salary for the teacher versatile enough to arrange a program sufficiently comprehensive for such an instructional load? Add to this the confusion that would inevitably result when, in an endeavor to integrate subjects, three or four teachers take a hand in the instruction of the class. With us teachers of Latin, when we had reached the Gallic War in our second-year books, a director of military training would take charge and explain the nature of ancient and modern warfare. In checking the accuracy of Caesar's accounts of battles, the ballistics expert must comment on the weight and balance of darts and spears! And what a clash of teacher personalities if the teachers themselves are alive to the particular values of their own subjects!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Teachers College Record, Columbia University, XXXVII, 429. Cf. ibid. for further language integrations.

Advocates of integration claim seriously that integration

promotes economy in learning and teaching by putting together facts and ideas that belong together. It reduces reduplication of effort and increases retention and understanding. It provides practice in the immediate transfer of facts and ideas learned in one area to new situations in other areas of school life. It promotes consistency through the interaction of facts and ideas from related fields. It reduces the flitting about of pupils from one subject to another, centralizing their effort and attention upon a single major project.

For every one of these statements it would require for proof of its validity in the minds of most of us who have taught high-school pupils for two decades or more, a stack of tests that would bank-rupt every school board in America!

What is the nature of the program proposed by advocates of the new curriculum? Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, et crimine ab uno Disce omnis:

Such a curriculum is, first of all, one in which the ultimate aims to be striven for are thought of in terms of pupils rather than subject matter. That is, rather than have the pupils strive to master English, Latin, algebra, ancient history, etc., as such, they should be directed to achieve facility, power, and resourcefulness in solving the problems of life which face them here and now, or will likely face them in the near future; to achieve and maintain health; to control or adjust themselves to their social and physical environment; to earn a living; to be proficient at something socially desirable; to enjoy knowledge and activities for their own selves, and to desire to make their community a better place in which to live and in which to make a living. . . .

The program of studies would be that of a core curriculum for all pupils, with opportunity for electives, with diversity of activities, standards, and materials within the core curriculum to meet the needs and interests of the gifted, the ordinary, the slow, and the less gifted. Assuming that the fundamental purpose of education is human happiness and human welfare, the constants of the high-school program of activities might well be those activities and experiences which lead to better understanding of human relationships.

The question may be raised "Will the progressive, vital curriculum, designed to equip pupils adequately and to prepare them to live and to contribute to our society, prepare them for college?" The answer is that any curriculum which prepares pupils to control their environment and equips them for life should be the very best preparation for college.

We can ill afford longer to permit the college preparatory ambitions and

James B. Tharp, Modern Language Journal, xx (April, 1936), 416-419.

needs of twenty per cent or less of our pupils to dominate the high-school curriculum. To do so is but to encourage the tail to wag the dog.<sup>7</sup>

What place will be accorded Latin study in this new core curriculum with its emphasis upon social values? All foreign languages will be affected. They will be placed in the inferior position of electives in the larger schools and in the smaller schools they will be eliminated. Latin still enrolls as many pupils in the secondary schools as all other foreign languages combined, and any material expansion of the social studies program will undoubtedly affect the Latin enrollment first. Since we believe that in language studies lies the greatest cultural and spiritual force of the curriculum, it is vital for us that we insist upon a large place for them in any new form of integrated curriculum structure.

Language study, particularly Latin, is both difficult and dull, claim the proponents of the social studies. And they imagine that the facts and theories of social science are lively and easy to grasp. They seem not to be conscious of the inherent difficulties of certain phases of the social studies for the average high-school pupil. They seem not to be deterred by the enormous task of providing teachers adequately equipped to teach these difficult subjects in a manner that will make them comprehensible and capable of functioning in the later life of the pupil.

How many teachers in the whole body of those interested in the social studies program could present to a class of average aptitude for understanding abstruse social and political ideas a clear and unbiased explanation of philosophies of government that are contrary to our own democratic philosophy? For example, consider the first question given recently in an examination to a group of eighteen-year-old students in a social studies class:

The Individualist, the Anarchist, the Collectivist, the Socialist, and the Communist each has a philosophy of the functions of the state. Does the New Deal fit into any one of the above? Explain fully.

We find these proponents of the social core curriculum also not shrinking from the danger that over-enthusiastic teachers who

<sup>7</sup> Lloyd N. Morrisett, "The Curriculum and Life," in the Clearing House, xx (September, 1936), 7-9 passim.

possess a distinctly socialistic or communistic bent would present the facts of our social and political life in a distorted manner, seeking to influence young minds to embrace political conceptions subversive to our form of government. Many of these ardent leaders insist that it is the duty of the teacher to point out defects of our democratic form of government and even to indoctrinate pupils with socialistic and communistic theory. I, as a parent, am quite willing to have my children acquainted with the socialist theory of collectively-owned industries, the theories of property rights and of labor economics, with the facts of municipal or private ownership, of government-controlled industries; but I am not willing to have their minds given a distorted perspective of those facts and theories by a teacher biased or inadequately informed.

John Dewey, in the January number of the Social Frontier of 1935, points out the duty of the secondary-school teacher who has been assigned social science teaching. He recognizes, he says, that the times are out of joint and "teachers cannot escape, even if they would, some responsibility for a share in putting them right." In the October issue of the preceding year, 1934, discussing the question whether education can share in social reconstruction, he writes:

Rugged individualism represents the status quo.

I do not think that the schools can in any literal sense be the builders of a new social order. But the schools will surely, as a matter of fact and not of ideal, share in the building of the social order of the future according as they ally themselves with this or that movement of existing social courses. This fact is inevitable. The schools of America have furthered the present social drift and chaos by their emphasis upon an economic form of success which is intrinsically pecuniary and egoistic. . . . The plea that teachers must passively accommodate themselves to existing conditions is but one way—and a cowardly way—of making a choice in favor of the old and the chaotic.

Professor Harold Rugg, in the March, 1933, issue of the same journal, points out the contribution made by scholars of the past in this country in the way of social reconstruction. He makes a strong plea for the teachers of this country to strike out boldly in the interests of a new, improved social order. Discussing the tendency of educators today to refrain from participation in social

movements, he writes, "Thus neither common sense nor scientific generalization support inaction and aloofness from the social scene among thinking men."

In the issue of January, 1935, of this same journal, George A. Coe concludes the symposium on the duties of a social science teacher with these words:

When the state engages the services of a teacher, it acts as the agent of society; the obligation that he assumes is to serve society, not to serve merely the state, certainly not to protect the existing state from change. Both school and state are servants of the same society. Consequently, neither the constitution of the state nor the conduct of the economic class that at present dominates the state is exempt from critical judgment by the educator and by those who are being educated. If the teacher fails to subject both the political order and the economic order to scrutiny by the rising generation, he is an unfaithful, if not perfidious, servant.

Whether or not you agree with Messrs. Rugg and Coe in this extreme view of the duty of the social science teacher to point out the chaos of the present social order, you surely agree that such a program is loaded with dynamite.

We do not wish to imply that in the proposed core curriculum the teaching staff of the social studies would be largely radical. And we can surely admit that the social studies should occupy an important place in any curriculum. There are admittedly valid objectives in the teaching of social science. The social studies committee of the Indianapolis Public Schools has stated these objectives in its report on appropriate material selected from geography, history, and civics. It has listed them, in part, as follows:

1. To acquire a clearer understanding of, and a working familiarity with, the principle of group life and a consequent interdependence of mankind, in either small or large groups.

2. To gain a comprehensive view of the social, economic, and political conditions of our national life through a study of their historical antecedents and a contemporary survey; to develop some fundamental concepts for the proper interpretation of the civic problems which continually arise in a democratic state.

3. To gain some understanding of the economic, governmental, and cultural and social contributions of other peoples of the world to the common

good, both now and in the past, and to gain some conception of the relationship of our country to those peoples.8

Consider the third group of these aims. We as language teachers have considered these aims valid for decades. Think through the material which has formed the body of our work, in a four-year, a three-year, or even a two-year course in Latin. It is my conviction that even the short one-year study can contribute to the greater social integration of our students. Appreciation and tolerance are the key words of culture and are the most natural byproducts of the study of the languages of other peoples. The enthusiastic champions of social studies, concentratedly absorbed in building up their own great program, seem to have forgotten completely the contribution that Latin and other foreign languages have been quietly and unobtrusively making since the inception of public education. If in the elaborate preparations for the big "push," the progressive educators, denying us "social utility" value, crowd us into a remote corner, I hope that some committee of far-sighted and perspicacious citizens will insist that those directing public education will find some effective substitute for the cultural potentialities of Latin and other foreign languages.

These educational theorists overlook the fact that the great literatures of Greece and Rome most certainly belong to the field of social science. Professor Charles Beard, however, in his work, The Nature of the Social Sciences, perceives this clearly. He says that everything that has been written in all ages belongs to the literature of social science. As for language study itself, a group of prominent language educators agrees upon two important language objectives which are, in reality, social science objectives:

To foster and encourage the development of an ever-expanding social outlook on life by means of an environment which provides constant opportunity for intelligent response to a widening area of vitally shared interests.

Foreign language study should contribute to a rich interpretation of race experience and to a broadening of the social outlook and an integration of world interests through intelligent comprehension of, and respect for, varying human customs in an environment extended beyond national bounds.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> From a report published by the Indianapolis Public Schools, Administrative Bulletin for the Junior High School Division of the Secondary Schools, approved by the Board of School Commissioners (May 31, 1932), 40.
<sup>9</sup> Cf. chapter I, p. 10.

Ardent social science proponents stress the value of equipping students with facts that they will need to know in life situations, political and social. Our contribution is a training in emotion that abides when the facts are forgotten. A student arrives at culture through training in emotion. Important as it may be to acquire the technique of first aid, it is more important to feel the urge to give that aid. A contributor to the *News Bulletin* of the Institute of International Education defines culture as follows:

Culture is difficult to describe. It is perhaps easier to say what it is not than what it is. It is certainly not encyclopedism: the knowledge of everything; neither is it specialization: the knowledge of one thing. Indeed, it is not knowledge at all, but knowledge transmuted into power—nectar into honey. It is the result of a method for a training of the mind, that has endeavored to teach it to think, to think clearly. Montaigne has said: "Better a head well made than a head well filled." A head well made is the product of culture.

Perhaps the best definition would be to say that culture is what remains when you have forgotten everything. What is it that remains? Many things: the understanding quickened and deepened—a breadth of outlook—a catholicity of sympathies—a refinement of taste—an appreciation of beauty—a delicacy of feeling—a sense of measure—a modesty of judgment—a critical habit of mind—the habit of taking nothing for granted—of thinking for one's self, that habit of sincere unbiased approach to any problem and of undaunted pursuit of its ultimate solution in a real scientific spirit—a proper and balanced conception of the various uses of life, of its graces as well as its utilities. These are some of the things that remain, some of the elements of that full and rounded life for which we endeavor to prepare our students.

In my opinion, considering the great contribution that language study makes to the education of the child in the pursuit of culture, we Latin teachers have made a mistake in not demanding for ourselves a dominant and respected place in the changing curriculum. Enrollment in the public high schools of the United States from 1930 to 1934 showed an increase of 40 per cent. To meet this increase new buildings must be erected. The practical and utilitarian subjects will again be accorded a generous allotment. The expenditure of moneys on the domestic science department or the manual training department or the gymnasium—not the whole,

<sup>10</sup> James B. Tharp in Modern Language Journal, xx (Feb., 1936), 299.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Auguste Desclos, "The French Conception of Education," quoted in Modern Language Journal, XIX (Jan., 1935), 264 f.

but only a small part, would equip for the Latin teacher a room provided with a small classical library, abundant maps, artistic pictures of classical scenes, authentic replicas of pieces of sculpture—in short, a classical atmosphere for cultural training. Considering the wide utility of such a training for the full and abundant life, we ought to demand that the department of public instruction be just as keen to apportion money for cultural courses as for swimming pools. In the past we have made the mistake of too great humility. In the crisis before us let us not make the greater mistake of spineless submission. If culture is worth striving for from infancy to manhood, its place is worth fighting for in a democratic system of education.

# THE RACES OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND COMMERCE BETWEEN THE AEGEAN AND THE EUXINE SEAS IN THE HEROIC AGE

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#### I. THE PROBLEM

In The Homeric Catalogue of Ships<sup>1</sup> Mr. T. W. Allen denies that there is any evidence for a sea-borne trade between the Aegean Sea and the Euxine during the Heroic Age. He asserts that Walter Leaf's assumption that such commerce existed is an antedating of later conditions. Conclusive proof is indeed wanting, but the Argonautic expedition or expeditions—for the abundance and diversity of the legends connected with the Argo raise the question whether there may not have been many voyages—the two wars of the Achaeans against Troy, and the association of Heracles and Theseus with the Euxine Sea indicate more than a casual and indeed a sustained interest in the Black Sea, which may have been due to commercial reasons.

There are legendary and other, including archaeological, evidences of connections with the Euxine on the part of many Aegean peoples long prior to the Trojan war, and it would be a matter for remark if the Achaeans could be shown to have been an exception. The assembled indications suggest not one but many struggles for the control or for the freedom of the Straits. What little we know of economic conditions during the Heroic Age and what we know of later times suggest the probability of Achaean commercial interest in the Black Sea prior to the Trojan war. It is not necessary to assume that an earlier traffic must necessarily be the exact counterpart of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> New York, Oxford University Press (1921), 176.

a later. There is no need to prove that Achaean Greece was dependent upon the Black Sea region for food at this early time. Trade is carried on for profit and to secure rare and valued articles, as well as from economic necessity. It is a truism that conditions so common as to be taken for granted leave few literary or traditional evidences in their wake.

It need be no matter for surprise if the Achaeans developed a traffic with the Euxine Sea through the Straits, especially as other Aegean peoples almost certainly did so before them.<sup>2</sup> As Strabo remarks,3 "The ancients made longer voyages both by land and sea than men of later times." Arrian's statement4 regarding the possibility of sailing from the Persian Gulf into the Red Sea might be considered in connection with the finding in neolithic Cnossus of the tridacna shell from the Indian Ocean.5 Red-ware pottery from Anatolia reached the Danube valley; Transylvanian gold reached Egypt. Mycenaean and even Minoan forms have been found in Carpatho-Danubian work. Products of Troy or the results of Hissarlik influence have been found in Silesia. As early as the third millennium B.C., Baltic amber came to Troy, Mycenae, and Egypt. Ancient land routes ran along the south shore of the Black Sea, but, owing to the difficulties of the terrain and to disturbed conditions, the main east-west route was generally by sea through the Dardanelles and Bosporus. Trade with the nomads of South Russia was carried on, perhaps through the Straits, as early as 2600 B.c. White jade, a rare stone which occurs no nearer than China, was found among the ruins of the second city of Troy.6

<sup>2</sup> For a summary account of early trade, cf. V. Gordon Childe, *The Dawn of Civilization*: New York, A. Knopf (1925), 33-40, 150, 187 and Map II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I, 45-46. Cf. J. Kennedy, "Early Commerce of Babylon and India," Jour. R. Asiatic Soc. (1898), 258; H. Peake and H. J. Fleure, The Steppe and the Sown: New Haven, Yale University Press (1928), 88; J. L. Myres, Who were the Greeks? Berkeley, University of California Press (1930), 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Indica XLIII, quoted in Early Commerce 258; cf. A. Moret and G. Davy, From Tribe to Empire: New York, A. Knopf (1926), 225. Regarding the possibility of Egyptian voyages to the Red Sea. cf. n. 35 below.

Who were the Greeks? 223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> This paragraph is based upon the references following: T. S. Foster, Travels and Settlements of Early Man: London, E. Benn (1929), 171; H. J. Mackinder, "Trade Routes," Encyclopaedia Britannica<sup>14</sup>; V. Parvan, Dacia: Cambridge, at the University

#### II. THE ROUTES

One thing appears to be certain: Trade connections between the Aegean and the Black Seas have been subject to periodical interruptions by reason of invasions coming from the north by way of the Caspian Gates, the Bessarabian gap, or by water from the Black Sea throughout the period of recorded history, and there is reason to believe that similar interruptions took place in prehistoric times. Toward the end of the nineteenth century B.C. there seems to have been such an invasion<sup>7</sup> followed by the destruction of both the second city of Troy and of Cnossus. About two centuries later the Dardanians appear to have crossed the Dardanelles and to have founded the sixth city of Troy somewhere between 1500 and 1400 B.C.8 About the latter date a widespread crisis occurred: Cnossus was destroyed by fire and a calamity overtook other Cretan cities. Kheftian trade with Egypt ceased, and some of the population of the island appears to have fled elsewhere. At this time Egypt was the economic center of the known universe.9

After 1400, the Egyptian king increased his maritime police,<sup>10</sup> allied his house with the royal family of the Mitanni, and culti-

Press (1928), 74; The Steppe and the Sown, 46; 32; J. R. Bacon, The Voyage of the Argonauts: London, Methuen (1925), 118; Cavaignac, Histoire de l'Antiquité: Paris, Fontenoing et Cie. (1917), 1, 208. In The Dawn of Civilization, 50, 62-63 Childe assumes from archaeological evidence that the second city of Troy controlled trade through the Straits. Cf. also Gilbert Murray, The Rise of the Greek Epic: New York, Oxford University Press (1911), 50, and The Voyage of the Argonants, 160-167 for archaeological evidence on possible trade with China.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Whether this was the coming of the Achaeans or of the Hittites is uncertain. Cf. H. Peake and J. H. Fleure, *The Horse and the Sword*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1933), 5, 8. The Kassite infiltration into the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and that of the Hyksos into Egypt occured ca. 1925-1900.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Dardanus and Hellen were of the generation ca. 1400. Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1, 58, 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> During the reign of Amenhotep III (1414-1379) Egypt "Seated astride both the intercontinental and the interoceanic highways... was dominating the world." Breasted, Cambridge Ancient History, π, 88, 97. Other references for this paragraph: The Horse and the Sword, 9, 11-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Breasted, C.A.H., п, 98; J.D.S. Pendlebury, "Egypt and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age," Jour. Egypt. Arch. xvI (May, 1930), 76 n. 2, 91.

vated the friendship of the Kassite kings of Babylon. 11 This entente protected the trade routes to Syria from the domination of the Hittites and from the inroads of the Lukki, Shakalsha, Shardana, and Danaans. 12 Between 1415 and 1400 the Hittites were occupied with the attacks of the Assyrians and with wars against their neighbors, the Mitanni. Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton) was a disastrous combination of many virtues. For a private person to be a dreamer and a mystic may be all very well, but the mind of a king must dwell upon those things which are Caesar's as well as upon those which are God's. The time, too, was no time to dream of the brotherhood of man. The poet-king was making hymns when he should have been defending those of his subjects who looked to him for protection. Egypt was dashed from her high imperial estate into domestic anarchy. The Syrian provinces revolted and fell into the hands of the more practical Hittites (ca. 1360). Egypt's allies, the Mitanni, were deserted and fell a prey to Assyrian and Hittite assaults (ca. 1375).

The Hittites, having gained control of the trade routes to Syria and having secured their southern frontier, were free to pursue their interests in other quarters. The obvious measure to be taken was to police and to control the disturbed trade routes leading to the Troad and thence to the Balkans and to the Aegean coast of Asia Minor.<sup>13</sup> The map shows what inevitably happened. The Hittites could easily advance from the Anatolian plateau down the valleys of the Hermus and Maeander rivers.<sup>14</sup> Caught between this advance and the expanding power of the Achaeans, the Agean population of Asia Minor was riven asunder and dispersed, like Satan to go to and fro in the earth and to walk up and down

<sup>11</sup> The Horse and the Sword, 11.

<sup>12</sup> From Tribe to Empire, 286-295. This was probably the date of the irruption of the Children of Israel into Canaan. Cf. letter by Mr. Boardman Wright in the New York Times of Sunday, May 28, 1933; From Tribe to Empire, 193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Probably ca. 1370–1350, as Amenhotep made a treaty with the Hittites about 1370 (the approximate date of the extinction of the Mitannian kingdom), and Seti I renewed the Syrian wars about 1350.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> This is the historic route of invasion used by the Cimmerians, the Lydians, the Persians, and, in our own time, by the Turks who recently drove a Greek army into the sea at Smyrna.

in it.<sup>15</sup> Remnants may have made their way down the valleys leading to the Sea of Marmora and the Troad. Others may have taken refuge in the mountainous region around Lycia. The Troad may have been brought into subjection, <sup>16</sup> but the Taurus highlands of Lycia seem to have maintained their independence.<sup>17</sup> The intervening coastland was probably controlled from Bogaz-Keui.<sup>18</sup>

About the end of the thirteenth century there seems to have been another racial movement from the north that interrupted established trade routes and unsettled or dispersed inhabitants of the Aegean area. Peoples of the sea fought on both sides in the Battle of Kadesh, one of a long series of combats for control of the Syrian trade routes. This century was an age of great kings, of Rameses II, of Minos of Crete, and of Laomedon of Troy. It

<sup>15</sup> We find peoples traditionally associated with this region among the wandering peoples of the sea who served as mercenaries in Palestine and Egypt and who colonized Western Mediterranean lands, such as the Sardinians, Tyrrhenians, and Etruscans. There was a Tyra south of Sardis. Cf. n. 25 below. Cf. also Herodotus 1, 94, 163–168; v. 124.

<sup>16</sup> There seems to be no real reason for calling the peoples of the Troad who served in the Hittite army at Kadesh either "allies" or "mercenaries": they may have owed military service. Cf. Hall, C.A.H., Π, 282; Who were the Greeks? 117; A. Sartiaux, Troie: Paris, Hachette (1915), 147-148, 176.

<sup>17</sup> It has always been a stronghold of independent or semi-independent tribes. Cf. Herodotus I, 28. The Lycians continually raided the coasts of Alasia (Cyprus or Cilicia). The Hittites, with Antarawas of Akhhiyawa, fought the kings of Arzawa and Millowanda (northeast of Lycia) and made an alliance with Alaksandus of Uilusa (Ialysus in Rhodes?).

<sup>18</sup> D. Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*: New York, Oxford University Press (1909), 101; id., C.A.H., π, 548; Walter Leaf, *Homer and History*: London, Macmillan (1915), 68. The manner in which certain names are associated with peoples either in the North Aegean or the South Aegean but not on the Asiatic coast between is significant in this connection:

NORTH AEGEAN, NW. ASIA MINOR

Danaans (Achaeans)

Achaeans

Cilicians (Troad)
Gergithes (Troad)
Teucrians (Troad)
Pelasgians (Thessaly, Thrace, Straits)

Leleges (Troad)

Lycians (Troad) Cf. n. 34 below. SOUTH AEGEAN, SOUTHERN ASIA MINOR

Denyen (Rhodes?)

Akhhiyawa (Pamphylia? Rhodes?)

Hypachaeans (Cilicians)

Cilicians (Cilicia)

Gergithes (Cyprus)

Teucrians (Crete)

Pelasgians (Crete)

Leleges (Crete and Caria)

Lycians (Crete and Lycia)

was an age of great heroes, of Perseus, of Theseus, of Heracles. It was an age of great adventures, of which the voyage of the Argonauts was not the least. It was an age of great wars. The age began with the mighty struggles of the Egyptians and Hittites for supremacy and it ended with the conquest of Troy by Heracles. Great invasions of Egypt by land and sea continued into the next century.

#### III. THE RACES

It is doubtful if these racial movements were abrupt or uniform. It is more likely that they were gradual and various; so that the confusion that surrounds any attempt to classify the peoples of this early period is not to be wondered at. Racial movements may have occurred either as invasions or as infiltrations. Some of the peoples who were invaded may have emigrated, either wholly or in part. Some doubtless were despoiled or dispossessed and became wanderers upon the face of the earth, taking to banditry or piracy. Of those who were conquered and remained in place some seem to have become distinct subject peoples, while others became gradually assimilated with their conquerors. Such is the picture that the experience of the human race leads one to visualize and that is supported by tradition and archaeology.<sup>19</sup>

These processes continued over long periods of time. Their various effects on racial compositions were still further modified by warfare, piracy, slavery, concubinage, and commerce, which often went together and, like politics, made strange bed-fellows.

Except that today under the influence of the idea of nationalism in its full flower we tend to think in exaggerated terms of racial distinctions, it is difficult to understand why efforts should be made at precise identifications among the early peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean. Perhaps it would be better to bear in mind the phenomena that accompanied the settlement of the Americas and to recall the buccaneers of the Spanish Main. One ought to bear in mind that the Greeks felt no racial repugnance toward other peoples. They had no ideal of race purity. They did not hesitate to intermarry with the Carians, even with the Scythians. The ruling houses especially intermarried freely. Pelops

<sup>19</sup> G. Glotz, The Aegean Civilization: New York, A. Knopf (1925), 31 ff.

came from Phrygia or Paphlagonia. Andromache was a Cilician from the Plain of Thebe. The mother of Croesus was a Carian. Bellerophon, king of the Lycians, was of Achaean descent. Danaus with his ten sons by an Arabian woman, seven by a Phoenician, and his daughters by an Aethiopian woman, may be taken as a symbol of these times. The manner in which populations have shifted and names have been changed or their meanings have been modified in our own time should make us cautious in attempting to classify ancient peoples over long periods.<sup>20</sup>

An outstanding example of the difficulty involved in attempting to identify a particular name with a particular people during these times is found in the Pelasgian problem. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus the Pelasgians originally came from the Peloponnese, where their capital city was called Larissa. Thence they moved into Thessaly, where the name Larissa also occurs, and whence they were dispersed throughout Hellas, to the Cyclades, Asia Minor, and Italy, at the hands of the Leleges and Curetes, whom Dionysius appears to identify with the Aetolians and Locrians. Those of the Pelasgians who went to Italy joined the Oenotrian Greeks against the Sicels. Dionysius implies that the Pelasgians may have been Arcadians, the earliest folk of Hellenic stock to enter Greece. In Italy, too, they named a city Larissa. In the second generation before the Trojan war (i.e., ca. 1250) they were again dispersed. Their name, like that of the Leleges and of the modern Gypsies, came to mean a wandering people and was sometimes applied to other foot-loose peoples.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>11</sup> This paragraph is based upon the passages from Dionysius in the order given below:  $I_1$ ,  $I_2$ ,  $I_3$ ,  $I_4$ ,  $I_5$ ,  $I_6$ ,  $I_7$ ,  $I_8$ ,  $I_8$ ,  $I_8$ ,  $I_8$ ,  $I_9$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> For this paragraph cf. (in order) T. R. Glover, *Greek Byways*: New York, Macmillan Co. (1932); Herodotus I, 146; IV, 17; Thucydides I, 9; *Iliad* VI, 397; Herodotus I, 92; *Iliad* VI, 145–155. Cf. the recent movement of peoples from Europe to the Americas, Africa, and the South Pacific, and from Russia into Siberia. These movements are being paralleled today in Asia by the drift SE. into Malaysia and by the movement of the Chinese on the one hand and Koreans and Japanese on the other into Manchuria. How names may change may also be seen in our own time. Whereas we used to speak of Serbia, we now speak of Yugo-Slavia. The term *Canadian*, formerly applied to a people of French descent, today means a people of predominantly British stock; while the word *Californian* now designates a wholly different people than that of less than a century ago. The term *Indian* may mean either one of two widely different peoples.

It has been surmised that *Pelasgian* is a nickname derived from πέλαγος meaning "sea." Sartiaux is content to say that the word was used in the sense of aborigine. To Leaf "The Pelasgians are not a tribe at all, but a collection of tribes." They may have been the queer folk like the Lapiths and Centaurs—who lived across the advancing frontier as Hellas was being settled by the Greeks, or who remained to become a subject people, and we may surmise that they were the "Roumi," the "Franks," the "Gringoes," the "Greasers," or the "Dagoes" of the day. A tribe called Pelasgians spoke a barbarous tongue in the days of Herodotus; but whether they were real Pelasgians or whether that was their native tongue we have no way of knowing. At any rate the name Pelasgian was finally dropped. It would be indeed a strange thing if the name had continued to be applied to the same people, unchanged in a changing world, throughout the many centuries during which we hear of the name; and we have the traditional evidence of Dionysius that it was a name given to such wandering peoples as the Leleges.<sup>22</sup>

The Pelset,<sup>23</sup> the Lukki, and the Akhhiyawa harassed Cyprus, Cilicia, and Phoenicia about the beginning of the reign of Rameses III (1298–1232).<sup>24</sup>

I, 31, 58, 61. Compare Diodorus Siculus vI, 10; Herodotus I, 56–58; VII, 94–95; VIII, 44. Diodorus quotes Thucydidus II, 17; Pliny III, 5, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> On the Pelasgians cf. Troie, 141; W. Leaf, Troy: London (1917), 332; Glotz, op. cit., 12, 31, 39; Homer and History, 249 f. Cf. also J. L. Myres, "History of the Pelasgian Theory," Jour. Hell. Stud. xxvII (1907), 170-222; W. W. How and J. Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus<sup>2</sup>: New York, Oxford University Press (1928), Append. xv (I, 442-446), n. "J" (I, 455 f.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> E. Meyer (op. cit., II, 1, 560, 562) identifies them with the Philistines, possibly with the Pelasgians, and with the Zakkal (Shakalsha, Thekel, etc.). Cf. Burn, Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks: New York, A. Knopf (1930), 142 ff.; C.A.H., II, 275, 284 ff.; Gen. x, 4, 5, 14; Jer. XLVII, 4; Amos IX, 7. David had "Pelethites" or "Carites" as mercenaries. 2 Sam. VIII, 18; XV, 18; XX, 7, 23; 1 Kings 1, 38, 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The Lukki were the Lycians. That the Akkhiyawa (Aquaiwasha, Ekwesh) were Achaeans is now generally assumed, although E. Meyer (op. cit., π, 1) in his chapter on the Achaeans has some lingering doubts because the Aquaiwasha practiced circumcision. But "The Phoenicians when they come to have commerce with the Greeks cease to follow the Egyptians in this custom, and allow their children to remain uncircumcised." (Herodotus π, 104.) Cf. also Joshua v, 3–5, 7 where the Israelites are said to have abandoned the practice and later to have returned to it. By Americans who have

In the fifth year of the reign of Merneptah (ca. 1227) the Tursha, Shardana, Aquaiwasha, and a few Lukki attacked Egypt. <sup>25</sup> During ing the eighth year of the reign of Rameses III (ca. 1190) the Pelset, Shakalsha, Thekel, Denyen, and Weshesh made an invasion by land and sea. This means that the Pelset and Lukki had been active in the Eastern Mediterranean for at least a century, and the Achaeans for at least a generation. <sup>26</sup>

The Carians, formerly called Leleges, appear to have come to the mainland of Asia Minor from Greece and the Cyclades. The Ionians found them settled along the southern part of the coast later known as Ionia. They spoke a tongue strange to Greek ears. There is some evidence that they were related to the Pelasgians, Philistines, and the Etruscans.<sup>27</sup> The Phoenicians too were traditionally associated with these peoples.<sup>28</sup> Western Asia Minor contained Aegean, Cappadocian, Phrygian, Egyptian, and Phoenician elements and in one district a Phoenician dialect was spoken.<sup>29</sup> There were recollections of Caro-Phoenician relations in Rhodes, and we hear of Phoenician Caria.

seen how quickly the children of immigrants forsake the customs of their parents for those of their associates Meyer's doubts will not be given great weight.

<sup>26</sup> According to E. Meyer (loc. cit. in n. 24 above) these Tyrrhenians may have been Etruscans or even Pelasgians. The Tyrrhenians were called Pelasgians by Myrsilus of Lesbos (Dionysius Halicarnassus 1, 23). He himself believed that they were not the same people because of differences in language and customs, but that the Tyrrhenians had been associated with the Pelasgians, and so came to be called Pelasgians because they were also a wandering people. They were also called Etruscans (id. 1, 29, 30). Cf. Apollodorus, Library 1, 9, 18; Herodotus 1, 57, 94; Plutarch, Romulus Π, 1; Burn, op. cit., 60 and n. 4; 61, n. 2. Meyer believes (op. cit., Π, 1, 557, 574) that the Shakalsha (Shekelesh, Zakaray, etc. Cf. n. 21 above) and the Shardana (Sherden, Shardina, etc.) may have been Sicels and Sardinians who settled Sardinia and Sicily (cf. Herodotus 1, 94, 170; v, 124; v1, 2; v11, 170).

<sup>28</sup> Tavagalavas, an Ayavalas (Aeolian?), had attacked La-as-pa (Lesbos?), and Dudkhalia IV (ca. 1260) had trouble with Attarissyas of Achiyava; so the Achaeans must have been in the Eastern Mediterranean for at least two generations.

<sup>27</sup> On this cf. Herodotus I, 171; Hogarth, C.A.H., II, 544, 553-558, 560; Diodorus Siculus V, 81; Troy, 244; E. Meyer, op. cit., II, 1, 556-557; "Etruscans," Encyc. Brit. 14

<sup>28</sup> According to Thucydides I, 8 the *Islanders* were Carians and "Phoenicians." Glotz (op. cit., 61) takes the name "Phoenician" to mean "Redskins," a name applied indiscriminately by the Greeks to the bronzed Aegean peoples.

<sup>29</sup> G. Rawlinson's note on *Herodotus* I, 173 (Everyman ed., I, 88). Cf. Hogarth, C.A.H. II, 556; A. H. Sayce, "Caria," *Encyc. Brit.* According to Hrozny ("Hittites," *Encyc. Brit.* 14) the Hittites were of Indo-European-Semitic mixture.

"Phoenician" is another term that appears to have been loosely used in a racial sense. The original Phoenicians came from the shores of the Persian Gulf. By 1500 B.c. their trade was wide-spread. There is some evidence that they trafficked in the Aegean by way of Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, Samos, Lemnos, Imbros, and Thasos. Tradition identifies them with the Cadmeians. 30

A generalization that can safely be made regarding the peoples of the Aegean and of the Eastern Mediterranean during this period is that they were in a melting pot, that they were confused with one another by the Greeks, and that it is unsafe to use their names as implying a definite ethnical significance. Even such names as "Greek" and "Achaean" must be regarded with suspicion.<sup>31</sup> In this discussion the names will be used as a convenient device for reference without implying any precise identification.

#### IV. THE TRAFFIC

Lycia or Rhodes, the Troad or its adjacent islands, were stations of capital importance for maritime traffic between the Levant and the Black Sea. Many peoples of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean—and this by no means excludes the Greeks—are repeatedly identified in tradition and otherwise with the southeastern corner of Asia Minor, the Troad, or the Straits, and the Black Sea region.<sup>32</sup> It is interesting to note that the various attempts to identify some of these peoples associate them with places either in the vicinity of southern Asia Minor or of the Troad.<sup>33</sup> Some ap-

<sup>30</sup> On this paragraph cf. Herodotus I, 1; J. Kennedy, op. cit., 258; n. 28 above. In The Horse and the Sword (11, 16) Peake and Fleure regard the Cadmeians as Cretans. For other references cf. Ezek. XXVII, 13, 19; Herodotus I, 170; II, 44; 49; IV, 147; V, 57; Iliad IV, 370-400; C.A.H. II, 280; G. B. Grundy, "Greece," Encyc. Brit. 14

<sup>21</sup> Dionysius (1, 58, 61) calls the Trojans "Greeks." Mr. Burn's Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks came to hand while this article was being revised. It is, especially Chapter 2, an interpretation of the most recent materials on this subject and gives welcome support to the point of view here expressed.

<sup>22</sup> F. H. Bacon (ed.), Report of the Investigation at Assos, 1882, 1883, (Papers of the Arch. Inst. of America): Boston (1882) and New York, Macmillan Co. (1898), 1, 51,

59; Diodorus Siculus vi, 12, 14.

<sup>33</sup> The Shakalsha or Zakkal have been associated with Zakro in Crete, with Sagalassos, or identified with the Teucrians, a name given to the Trojans. Cf. Dionysius I, 61; Herodotus II, 114, 118; E. Meyer, op. cit., II, 1, 545-547, 560, 562; C.A.H. II, 282 f., 488f.

pear to have been actually divided between these two regions.<sup>34</sup> Hogarth and Hall mention the theory that the peoples of the sea may have come from the Caucasus region. The Carians, Lycians, and Phoenicians appear to have ventured into the Euxine Sea and to have had colonies or at least factories there. Sanchoniatho's Phoenician history implies a remembrance of relations with the Straits and the Black Sea region.<sup>35</sup>

The Achaeans were definitely associated with the Euxine Sea. It was in Scythia that Heracles lost his mares, and he was habitually depicted with the Scythian bow. His sons colonized the islands from Rhodes to Tenedos on the route to the Hellespont. He had a shrine at Marathon, a station on another route to the Hellespont. Heraclea in Pontus was dedicated to him. As he sacked the Troy of Laomedon, so his sons joined Agamemnon in sacking the Troy of Priam. Theseus also was identified with the Black Sea region. He overthrew the sea power of Minos, made economic reforms, and died at Scyros, a station on the way to the Hellespont. As St. George is said to have appeared to the English soldiers at Mons in August, 1914, so the shade of Theseus is said

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Cf. n. 18 above; also *Iliad* 1, 37-39, 451-453; π, 824-827; v, 67; v1, 395-397, 415; Troy, 235 (quoting Strabo xm, 1, 48), 297; E. Meyer, op. cit., π, 1, 301, 545; Who were the Greeks? 125, 156, 351, 355; C.A.H. π, 16, 282, 488-489; E. Obst, "Der Skamander-Xanthus in der Ilias," Klio, 1x (1909), 220-228.

B On the Caucasus origin cf. Hogarth, C.A.H. II, 268 and Hall, ibid., 276. The Shakalsha, Tursha, Shardana, and Aquaiwasha were circumcised when they first attacked Egypt. J. H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1906), III, 249; E. Meyer, op. cit., II, 1, 558 f. As the Shardana became mercenaries in Egypt and fought on both sides in the great sea raid of 1190, there may be some basis in fact for Herodotus' theory of the Egyptian origin of the Colchians. Cf. Herodotus II, 104; Strabo I, 3, 21; Apollodorius, Argon. IV, 265-281. For trade with the Black Sea cf. Glotz, op. cit., 219-220 where he mentions the discovery of Mycenean pottery at the far end of the Euxine behind Samsun. In addition to the references in n. 32 above cf. Diodorus V, 81; C.A.H. II, 16, 282-283, 556, 560; Troy, 235; Cavaignac, op. cit., I, 261. For Sanchoniatho cf. I. P. Cory (ed.), Ancient Fragments (2): London (1832), 10-13: "Ilus who is called Cronus . . . founded Byblus, the first city of Phoenicia . . . Contemporary with these were Pontus, and Typhon, and Nereus the father of Pontus: from Pontus descended Sidon." Compare Burn, op. cit., 57, 63-65, 120, 157-158.

References are, in sequence: Herodotus II, 103; IV, 8-11, 82; Investigations at Assos, II, 159; C.A.H. II, 482; E. Meyer, op. cit., I, 1, 299; Herodotus VI, 108; Justinus XVI, 3; J. M. Scammell, "The Capture of Troy by Heracles," Classical Journal XXIX (1933-34), 418-428; Plutarch, Theseus XXXV, 3 f.; Diodorus IV, 28; Who were the Greeks? 579 and n. 28a.

to have led the Athenians in the Battle of Marathon.<sup>37</sup> Homer was familiar with the Cimmerian Bosporus.<sup>38</sup> There were Tyritae Greeks in Scythia.<sup>39</sup>

There is much traditional and historical evidence for long-continued hostility between the Greeks and the Pelasgians, Carians, Lycians, and Phoenicians, especially in Cyprus, around Rhodes, and the Straits. That with the Pelasgians may have begun as early as the Argonautic expedition. The Pelasgians of Lemnos had been driven out of Attica and Thessaly. During the Trojan war, Achilles harassed the Pelasgians and Leleges of the Troad and Lesbos. After the war, the Pelasgians drove the Minyans out of Lemnos and raided Attica.<sup>40</sup>

The hostility between Greek and Phoenician was even more marked. The alleged Phoenician origin of Medea is of interest in view of the way in which Herodotus associates her kidnaping with the carrying off of Greek women by Phoenicians and of Phoenician women by Greeks. It may be significant that the date of the Trojan war corresponds with the traditional date of the refounding of Tyre and the founding of Utica. Between the Lycians and the Achaeans an especially bitter hostility was shown during the Trojan war. 42

The Achaean conflict with the Trojans was not confined to a single war, and the expedition of Agamemnon was more farreaching than the Trojan theater, drawing into its compass many other peoples. The observation of Leaf and Sartiaux that the dis-

<sup>87</sup> Plutarch, *Theseus* xxxv, 5; Pausanias I, 15, 3. Hallucinations born of exhaustion and intense excitement may reveal the existence of deep-seated beliefs or traditions, if not of historic facts.

38 Strabo I, 2, 9. For Homer's knowledge of the Euxine cf. Iliad II, 851-855; XIII, 5f; Troy, 284; R. Bacon, op. cit., 146 ff.

39 Cf. How and Wells, op. cit., 1, 323 on Herodotus IV, 51.

<sup>40</sup> Greek and Pelasgian hostility might be inferred from Apollodorus, *Library* 1, 9. 18. For other references on this paragraph cf. Herodotus 1, 1–3, 143 (in this connection cf. Thucydides 1, 16), 163–166; π, 54; τν, 145; ν, 42; ν1, 17, 25, 33, 41, 137f.; R. Bacon, op. cit., 128 ff., 168.

<sup>41</sup> Cavaignac, op. cit., 1, 231; C.A.H. II, 538. Procopius (Vandalic War IV, 10, 13-29) has a story that the Phoenicians settled in Numidia, having fled before the face of Ioshua son of Nun. This would date ca. 1400 B.C. Cf. n. 12 above.

42 Iliad IV, 197; VI, 78; VIII, 173. In the fight for the Greek camp the Lycians were in the forefront of the battle.

tribution of the allies of Troy follows the important trade routes through or across the Straits is doubly impressive when we consider the direction of Achaean expansion: toward Rhodes and Cyprus on the one hand and toward the Hellespont on the other -in a word toward the two outstanding commerical centers of the time and threatening the trade of Lycia. What is even more impressive is the consistent and long-standing record of hostility between the growing power of the Achaeans and other peoples identified with these two commercial centers.48

The explanation of commercial rivalry is supported by what we know of economic conditions in Hellas as reported by Herodotus and Thucydides and as confirmed from Egyptian inscriptions.44 The legends of Heracles and of Theseus harmonize with this picture: Each is shown as a sort of two-gun western sheriff going about putting down bad-men. In ancient times periods of landhunger and over-population have usually been accompanied by rampant banditry and piracy. An outstanding example may be seen as a consequence of the Mithridatic war, when Pompey was given unparalleled powers to suppress piracy.

Yet, as has already been pointed out, we need not assume that Hellas was economically dependent upon foreign trade because she ventured into the Black Sea. The lure of gold has always supplied a powerful motive for adventure and there was no gold in Hellas. But there was gold in the Caucasus. Iron, too, before it became common, was regarded as a precious metal. Toward the beginning of the revolution caused by its introduction for use in making weapons, iron was a stronger magnet than gold. In the days before the Trojan war, the Hittites appear to have had a monopoly of this metal. With its aid they and the Hyksos wrought a revolution in the art of war. When the king of Egypt begged his ally, the king of the Hittites, for iron, he was put off with excuses. The Shardana and other peoples of the sea had iron swords; but among the Greeks the metal was scarce. The only important source seems to have been the land of the Chalybes. What happened to the iron trade when the Hittite Empire fell? Troy controlled the

<sup>4</sup> Troy, 321 ff.; Troie, 192 ff.; Homer and History, 76.

<sup>44</sup> Herodotus v, 65, 91, 94; Thucydides I, 1-15; Breasted, op. cit., IV.

sea route from the Aegean to the source. During the Trojan war the Achaeans found an abundance of iron in Troy. Desire for access to that important commodity may well have been an important cause of the war.<sup>45</sup>

It would be absurd to exclude predatory motives entirely as a cause of the Trojan War. "Before you lie the plains of Italy" is a powerful incentive to war even today when the distinction between plundering and the confiscation of captured goods is still in part academic. In the ancient world not only piracy and privateering but even piracy and war were hardly distinguishable. 46 Yet to regard the Trojan War as merely a raid is to ignore its length and essential characteristics. Colonization as a primary motive is an explanation open to serious objections. 48 Unless human beings differed radically from those of today and the Tro-

<sup>46</sup> On this paragraph cf. The Horse and the Sword, 48 f.; 53 f.; Appian XII, 15, 103; Strabo XI, 449; C.A.H. II, 446; From Tribe to Empire, 238, 251, 313, 331 f.; Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks, 160, 163. Burn mentions the Taurus Mountains as the chief source for iron, but offers no evidence for his statement. Cf. Xenophon, An. v, 5.1 for the iron industry of the Chalybes. Some 1400 years later another famous soldier, Helmuth von Moltke, found their primitive foundries still going. Cf. Lettres sur l'Orient: Paris, Sandoz et Fischbacher (no date), 194. Cf. also Who Were the Greeks? 439. On the control of the Dardanelles Burn says (op. cit., 111), "It is abundantly clear from archaeology that the Trojans did exploit the advantage of their position." Cf. also ibid., 218. Reasons for rejecting Burn's interpretation of the Trojan war, as merely another sea raid, in favor of the views of Leaf and Sartiaux are too involved to be set forth here. For iron at Troy cf. Iliad VII, 473; IX, 366; cf. also I, 592-593. Sanchoniatho speaks of "Two brothers who discovered iron and the forging thereof. One, Hephaestus . . . was the first of all men that sailed." The Greeks considered that the Dactyls of Mt. Ida (across the strait from Lesbos) were the first to work in iron. Cf. Who were the Greeks? 438. The Danubian source of iron may have been open at this time; but if so it must be remembered that the Trojans controlled the route thither crossing at Sestus-Abydus, while their allies controlled that ending at the mouth of the Vardar. Moret (op. cit., 331) has the Achaeans and Dorians from Europe bring with them iron and steel "hitherto almost unknown among Oriental peoples"; but compare ibid., 238, 251.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Ormerod, Piracy in the Ancient World: London, Hodder and Stoughton (1924).
47 Burn (op. cit., 211-222) denies on the evidence of Dictys that the war lasted nine years. However, on the same authority he allows a time far too long for a mere raid, and the preliminary coperation against the Keteioi is inconsistent with this view. That the expedition was accompanied by raids no more means that it was piratical than that Drake's goings-on made him merely a pirate. Cf. Julian Corbett, Drake and the Tudor Navy: New York, Longmans, Green (1899).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. The Horse and the Sword, 46.

jan war differed from every other war, we must assume that motives were various and mixed. With his usual acumen Thucydides notes that fear of Agamemnon's sea power was a potent factor in the forming of the Achaean confederation. However, enough has been said above to show that the motive of freedom of navigation of the Straits for commercial reasons could not have been absent.

# Rotes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

# MACAULAY AT LAKE TRASIMENE

An excellent comment on the scene of the famous battle of Lake Trasimene is furnished by an entry in the diary of Lord Macaulay on his tour in Italy in 1838. On the twelfth of November he had set out for Rome from Florence, by way of Cortona and Perugia. The entry for Tuesday, November the thirteenth, runs:

My journey lay over the field of Thrasymenus, and as soon as the sun rose, I read Livy's description of the scene, and wished that I had brought Polybius too. However, it mattered little, for I could see absolutely nothing. I was exactly in the situation of the consul, Flaminius—completely hid in the morning fog. I did not discern the lake till the road came quite close to it, and then my view extended only over a few yards of reedy mud and shallow water, so that I can truly say that I have seen precisely what the Roman army saw on that day. After some time we began to ascend, and came at last, with the help of oxen, to an eminence on which the sun shone bright. All the hill-tops round were perfectly clear, and the fog lay in the valley below like a lake winding among mountains. I then understood the immense advantage which Hannibal derived from keeping his divisions on the heights, where he could see them all, and where they could all see each other, while the Romans were stumbling and groping, without the possibility of concert, through the thick haze below. Toward evening I began to notice the white oxen of Clitumnus.

Four days later, in Rome, he

went toward the river, to the spot where the old Pons Sublicius stood, and looked about to see how my Horatius agreed with the topography. Pretty well: but his house must be on Mount Palatine; for he would never see Mount Coelius from the spot where he fought.

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<sup>1</sup> I quote from *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* by his nephew, G. Otto Trevelyan: New York, Harper and Brothers (1877), II, 31 f.

# ANIMALS ON TRIAL

Our daily newspapers occasionally report instances of animals being brought before courts of justice to answer for their offenses against society. A case of this sort was recently tried at Brockport, New York, where a mongrel dog was found guilty of having caused the drowning of a fourteen-year-old boy and was sentenced by Justice Homer B. Benedict to two years of close confinement in the custody of its owner. A classical instance is recorded in Martial, Epigrammaton Libri, I, 10. A lion had bitten its training master, daring to outrage the hands it knew so well, but was brought to condign punishment by the emperor Titus, who had it dispatched in the arena. An extenuating circumstance seems to be indicated in vs. 4,

Et qui non tulerat verbera, tela tulit.

Evidently the master had been chastising his pupil when it turned on him.

In his usual fashion, Martial manages to extract a compliment for the emperor from the incident:

> Quos decet esse hominum tali sub principe mores, qui iubet ingenium mitius esse feris!

"What a high standard of conduct we must expect for human beings under such a ruler, who bids wild animals to possess gentler dispositions!" Were it not for the unfailing obsequiousness of Martial's attitude toward the imperial house, one might think to detect a faintly ironical note, a hint that it is folly to regard dumb beasts as moral creatures who can be held, even as men are, to account for their conduct.

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¹ Widely reported in the daily press under date of August 6, 1936. "Technically," says the New York *Times*, "the hearing concerned a civil suit demanding that the animal's owner be required to show cause why the dog should not be destroyed," but there was "the framework of a modern murder trial... with its conscious theatrics...; the hard hot glare of Kleig lights."

# CATULLUS XLIX AND SALLUST'S BELLUM CATILINAE

In the mass of discussion about this poem and about Sallust's treatment of Cicero there are two significant passages which seem to have escaped general notice. In paragraph 43 of the Catiline Sallust calls Cicero optumo consuli and in paragraph 51 he has Caesar speak of him as clarissumi viri consulis. The use of clarissumi viri would appear to be a fling at Cicero's oratorical style just as much as Sallust's use of compertum and quo usque tandem, since Sandys and Campbell1 remark particularly that it was a favorite phrase with Cicero; and a glance at Merguet's Lexikon zu den Reden des Cicero will show how strikingly the phrase must have recalled Cicero's style to Sallust's readers. The optumo, then, would in similar fashion quite probably recall the verses of the poet who had died more than ten years before the historian began to write. I fail to see, however, that this phrase can decide for us whether the poem is derogatory or not, since Sallust could very well have used sarcastically the phrasing of a laudatory poem.

Kroll<sup>2</sup> points out that Sallust used another phrase from this poem in slightly altered form when in his *Histories* I, 4, he calls Cato *Romani generis disertissimus*; this poem must have early become very famous, because Ellis cites the two following passages which also seem to refer to it: Velleius Paterculus II, 11, Quantum bello optimus, tantum pace pessimus; and Martial I, 7, 4 f.,

Tanto Stella meus tuo Catullo Quanto passere maior est columba.

Wirz and Kurfess point out that Cicero in 45 B.C. used optimum consulem very conspicuously in Ad Atticum XII, 21, 1, but I believe we must regard its occurrence there as the result of coincidence, since it would undoubtedly not be conspicuous enough to give point to Sallust's use of it.

WALTER ALLEN, JR.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. J. E. Sandys and S. G. Campbell, *Latin Epigraphy:* Cambridge, at the University Press (1927), 193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The books cited in this paragraph are: Wilhelm Kroll, C. Valerius Catullus: Leipzig, B. G. Teubner (1929), 89; Robinson Ellis, A Commentary on Catullus: New York, Oxford University Press (1889), 171; Hans Wirz und A. Kurfess, C. Sallusti Crispi De Coniuratione Catilinae Liber, Orationes et Epistulae ex Historiis Excerptae: Berlin, Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung (1922), 82.

# Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the Journal at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the Journal will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

WILLIAM CHASE GREENE, The Achievement of Rome, A Chapter in Civilization: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1933). Pp. xiv+560, with 5 illustrations. \$4.50.

In 1923 Professor Greene published *The Achievement of Greece*, and ten years later appeared this, the companion volume. The reader familiar with the first work will notice at once the larger size of the second—560 pages as contrasted with 334—and he will notice further that, as stated in the preface, more space is devoted to narration and exposition.

Perhaps the best way to characterize the nature of the contents is to say that they cover what one would naturally desire to see treated in a good college or university course in Roman Civilization, arranged in the following chapters: I. "Italy: The Land and Its Ancient Peoples" (geography, prehistory, growth of the city of Rome); II. "The Expansion of Rome" (expansion and loss of Roman territory); III. "Hearth and Home" (Roman private life); rv. "Utility and Adornment" (engineering, building, and art); v. "Civis Romanus" (constitutional history and Roman law); vi. "Flammantia Moenia Mundi" (religion and philosophy); VII. "The Meaning of Civilization" (admittedly "of a more speculative character"). A list of books on the various topics is given, and between it and the Index is bound a synopsis (which may be unfolded) giving in tabular form a resumé of the accomplishments of the Romans in each of seven fields during seven chronological periods of their history.

Professor Greene writes more as a professor of Greek and Latin literature than as an ancient historian. The two methods of approach are not, perhaps, far apart. And yet it is significant here, not only that a large space is given to the discussion of Latin literature, but also that in the special chapters on political and other non-literary topics there is constant reference to the ancient authors in text as well as footnote. In general this is, in my opinion, to be commended, for in a discussion of Roman civilization literature may tend to be crowded out.

Seemingly the author has envisaged as his reader the person who has gone as far as one or two years of college Latin after four years in secondary school. There are many references to, and paraphrases of, Livy, Vergil, Horace, and Catullus, which would call to mind much that he has read, and bring it into relationships possibly not sensed at the original reading. For one not so far advanced, however, the volume might prove harder reading than the easy flow of the language would lead one to think. Professor Greene's meaning is clear when one is already familiar with the subject-matter, but I suspect that certain expressions in the text, although of felicitous English and non-technical, might easily baffle one not previously initiated. Furthermore, in my opinion the smoothness of his transitions and the style of his continuous discussion often tend to obscure the general point he is making.

Yet the reader who picks up the volume and reads a bit here and there will often find an illuminating statement or evaluation. Professor Greene's real love is the literary and philosophical aspects of his subject. His comments on the various authors will prove of interest and value when read in connection with the original texts, and portions of the book may be recommended as collateral reading for students of the classics. It will prove of interest to the college graduate who has laid aside his classics for some time and then desires hastily to recall his impressions from his previous work. And for the teacher many a page will furnish a sentence or two of value.

WILLIAM E. GWATKIN, JR.

University of Missouri

SIR R. W. LIVINGSTONE, Greek Ideals and Modern Life: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1935). Pp. x+172.

Sir R. W. Livingstone's Greek Ideals and Modern Life is another notable volume added to the series called the Martin Classical Lectures published by the Harvard University Press for Oberlin College. These lectures, coming each year, are not merely an honor to Charles Beebe Martin and a rich opportunity for the students of Oberlin College; they are also a blessing to those who follow the course in the printed book. The latest volume offers stimulation and a mental ferment, and stirs in the reader a desire to be more familiar with the whole range of Greek literature. A classical teacher who reads carefully the first chapter will have a little clearer vision of the true objective of his calling, and will learn much about the influence of the classics on the minds of Addison. Arnold, and John Stuart Mill. The second chapter is a magnificent presentation of Greek Humanism with its striving for such perfection of mental and moral qualities as are within the reach of one whose remote ancestors lived the rude life of a cave man for a hundred and fifty thousand years. The third lecture shows how Plato and Aristotle, still believing with Socrates that the reformation of society depends on the new birth of the individual, sought to shape a political and economic state that would foster man's efforts to attain his maximum growth as a spiritual being. The fourth lecture draws an analogy between the Twentieth Century and the Age of Plato, declaring that our difficulties are much the same as those which confronted the Greeks of the Fourth Century, and that we shall find the remedies that Plato prescribed still effective for the cure of our spiritual ailments. The last chapter, on Christianity and Hellenism, offers much in the way of suggestion, but all in all it is the least satisfying lecture. On the whole Christianity and Hellenism are not quite so far apart as our author would have us believe. One cannot forget that the corner stone of Zeno's ideal republic was to be love, and that the spirit of the prayer of Socrates at the end of the Phaedrus is much the same as the spirit of the Lord's Prayer. There is no doubt that the New Testament lays far heavier emphasis on love and good will as the supreme virtue of life than the *Dialogues* of Plato. But we cannot overlook the fact that through the centuries love that has not been guided by high intelligence has done many futile and even cruel things. So we may be grateful to the President of Corpus Christi College that in his chapter on "Greek Humanism" he has made clear the necessity of stressing the mental as well as the moral virtues.

This bare outline does scant justice to a very useful book. Perhaps it will be helpful to quote a few sentences to illustrate the clarity and incisiveness of the style in which the book is written:

To some men Latin and Greek appear as fields for textual and grammatical study, for literary or historical or antiquarian research. Others find in them great literature. To a third class they are treasuries of wisdom. Obviously these divisions are not exclusive.

Homer and Plato did not write to provide posterity with philological and textual puzzles, and they would have found little congenial in many of the scholars who have made them intelligible to posterity.

The closest knowledge of the text does not necessarily imply the deepest draught of the spirit. The scholar is indispensable to the understanding of the classics, but in a sense he may never understand them himself.

Greek Humanism is the belief that man is more important than his environment or his possessions; and that his fundamental business is not to understand nature, though that is one of his problems, nor to earn a livelihood, though that is one of his duties, but so to lead his life as to make the best of human nature and above all of what is characteristic of, peculiar to, and highest in human nature.

We do not believe with the crowd that the most precious thing in life is the bare preservation of existence.

In the Greeks we find a people neither crushed by poverty nor engrossed by wealth, neither fettered by religious authority nor dazzled and confused by the achievements of applied science.

Our world may be destroyed by war; but it is quite as likely to be choked by machines and commerce.

If Greek philosophy and Christianity were right in thinking that man is a spiritual being, are a stock exchange, a foundry, or a shop the ideal theatre for his activities?

CHARLES N. SMILEY

CARLETON COLLEGE, NORTHFIELD, MINNESOTA A Greek Papyrus Reader, with Vocabulary, Edited by Edgar J. Goodspeed and Ernest Cadman Colwell. Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1935). Pp. ix+108. \$1.50.

The purpose of this little volume is to give a selection of Greek non-literary papyri "with a view to the light they may throw upon New Testament vocabulary, syntax, and style." Eighty-two texts are presented, with very brief introductions and notes. The volume also contains lists of the Greek numerals and the Egyptian months, and a complete Vocabulary, made necessary by the great difference between the vocabulary and word usage of the papyri and those of the Greek literature. A generous selection is given of governmental and private business documents, personal letters, and religious and magical material; and other aspects of life, including marriage and divorce, are also represented. Papyrus documents which have been reprinted and translated so frequently as to become hackneyed are in general avoided. The volume is not printed, but has been produced by photographing typed pages, as was done in the publication of the Cornell Greek papyri (New York, Columbia University Press [1926]). The pages are clear, and the work of editing and typing has been done with care and accuracy.

This is not the only brief selection of papyrus documents, intended for New Testament students and others, which has appeared in recent years, but it is the only one which omits translations and includes a Vocabulary, both very desirable features in a Papyrus Reader.

The following minor criticisms occur to the reviewer:

The Introductions to the individual papyri are very short, and sometimes rather facetious. Playful references to the depression, air-transportation, the machine age, and the Eighteenth Amendment might well have been replaced by a little more information about the documents. For example, when the student sees the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Others are: W. H. Davis, Greek Papyri of the First Century: New York, Harper (1933); G. Milligan, Selections from the Greek Papyri: Cambridge (1910); W. Schubart, Griechische Papyri: Urkunden und Briefe, 2 vols.: Leipzig, Velhagen u. Klasing (1927); R. Helbing, Auswahl aus griechischen Papyri: Berlin, de Gruyter (1924); D. H. Lietzmann, Griechische Papyri: Bonn, Marcus u. Weber (1910).

reference (p. 53, No. 66) to "Zenon, a personage of some importance," he may well wonder whether the founder of the Stoic School is referred to! Some useful information about Zenon could have been supplied in three or four lines.

When the reader comes to  $\mu\eta(\nu\delta s)$  Néov  $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha(\sigma\tau\delta)$  in No. 8, he will find that this month is not mentioned in the calendar on p. 83, and that neither  $\nu\delta s$  nor  $\sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\delta s$  is to be discovered in the Vocabulary. On account of their frequent occurrence in imperial titles, it would have been well to inform the reader somewhere that  $\sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\delta s$  and  $\alpha\delta\tau\delta s$  are translations of the Latin words augustus and imperator.

The two Christian letters, Nos. 5 and 10, embody practically the same formula, and No. 10 might well have been omitted. And are we justified in calling these brief notes of introduction "transfers of church membership"?

I am not competent to judge accurately the usefulness of this volume for special students of the New Testament, but it will be quite useful to classical students who wish to initiate themselves in the field of papyrology. Encouraged by the publication of this practical Reader, I venture to suggest a course of procedure for such students—I refer to those whose native language is English. They might begin by reading J. G. Winter's Life and Letters in the Papyri (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press [1933]) and at least Part IV (The Hellenistic Period) of G. Glotz, Ancient Greece at Work (New York, Knopf [1926]). Thereafter, this Papyrus Reader would be indicated, along with strenuous labor upon the facsimiles in W. Schubart's Papyri Graecae Berolinenses (Bonn, Marcus u. Weber [1911]). Having finished the Reader, they might, while continuing the work on the facsimiles, go on to W. Schubart's Einführung in die Papyruskunde (Berlin, Weidmann [1918]) and to the Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde of L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken (Leipzig, Teubner [1912]).

Some such brief bibliography of the introductory books in the field would have been a useful addition to the explanatory matter in this volume.

CLINTON W. KEYES

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JOCELYN M. C. TOYNBEE, *The Hadrianic School:* Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company (1934). Pp. xxxi+254. \$15.00.

The purpose of this book is stated very clearly on page xxii:

The aim of this book is to investigate the question of "classical" and Hellenistic tradition in the Hadrianic school with reference to two special branches of art, coin designing on the one hand and relief-sculpture on the other.

The thesis is justified by the large part that Greece and the Greeks have played in the Roman Empire (p. xi) and the author arrives logically at the conclusion (p. xxi) that the Hadrianic art was not strictly a Greek revival (p. xxi). Since the investigation is limited strictly to coin types and reliefs, it is helpful to have the brief treatment of the other forms of art during Hadrian's rule on pages xxiii to xxxi.

This very clear introduction is followed by Part I, which deals with coin types. The first chapter discusses "Hadrian's imperial idea and its expression in art by the personification of countries and cities." Hadrian's imperial idea was concentration in expansion. His famous journeys throughout the empire were an evidence of this purpose, and as memorials of these journeys we have the great "province" series of coins representing twenty-five countries and cities. The idealized personification of these countries and cities is treated in Chapter II. The coins themselves are treated elaborately in Chapter III. This is the most important chapter in the book and is exceedingly well done. Chapter IV is an example of "miscellaneous Hadrianic personifications of countries, cities and other localities." Chapter v completes the treatment of coin types by adding to the Hadrianic coins the "Antonine 'Province' Series." This interesting chapter closes with a very clear discussion of the "provinces," which were formerly supposed to have decorated the exterior of the Hadrianeum. The author believes and argues convincingly that these well-known "province" reliefs were in the interior of the building.

Part II deals with relief sculpture of the Hadrianic period. Chapter I is introductory in character. Hadrianic "individualism" is

lucidly discussed as it expresses itself in the art on private sarcophagi and altars. Sarcophagi are treated in the next two chapters: Chapter II, "Mythological Sarcophagi"; and Chapter III, "Decorative Sarcophagi." The final chapter deals with reliefs on altars. Of the Hadrianic influence on imperial art the author concludes (p. 241):

But the conception of the Emperor expressed in the Hadrianic "province" series led on inevitably to that conception of him as a more completely divinised and transcendental being which we find expressed in fourth-century Imperial court scenes—scenes of which the Catholic Church made a close Christian translation in the *Majestas Christi* of Mediaeval art.

Two excellent appendices of a statistical character are added. The usefulness of the book is enhanced by an adequate index.

No book of this character would be complete without illustrative plates. These are supplied at the end of the book. There are fifty-nine full-page plates; the first nineteen give the coins of Hadrian and Antoninus; the rest are devoted almost exclusively to sculptural relief. In some cases drawings are given, but most of the plates are from photographs and the work of reproduction has been excellently done. Few books covering a limited period are so adequate. Nothing but commendation is due the author and the printer.

LOUIS E. LORD

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Dr. X. F. M. G. Wolters, Notes on Antique Folklore on the Basis of Pliny's Natural History Bk. XXVIII 22-29: Amsterdam, H. J. Paris (1935). Pp. 150.

This volume, written in quaint but distressingly involved English, is a commentary on Pliny's Naturalis Historia XXVIII, 22-29. In a brief introduction, Dr. Wolters discusses (1) the relation of the text under discussion to the preceding parts of the chapter; (2) the sources of Pliny's information about Roman superstitions and magic practices; (3) the attitude of educated Romans, including Pliny the Elder, towards magic; and (4) definitions of magic, orenda, animism, and animatism. The bulk of the volume

consists of the text of the Pliny passage (with critical notes), a translation in English of the passage, and a series of notes on the superstitions and magic practices mentioned in the text. A brief bibliography and a detailed index conclude the work.

Dr. Wolters has attempted to apply to a limited passage of Pliny the same exhaustive treatment that Sir J. G. Frazer has given to Ovid's *Fasti*. In most cases (e.g., in the note on *anulum*, pp. 61–67) he discusses the individual superstitions in greater detail even than Frazer.

The chief value of the work lies in the examples of the various superstitions and magic practices mentioned by Pliny and in the summaries of explanations of these practices by various scholars.

Teachers in secondary schools will find little in the volume that touches their classroom reading. They should, however, consult p. 125 (apropos Vergil Eclogae VIII, 99: Atque satas alio vidi traducere messes—the transference by witches of crops from one farm to another) and pp. 36-37 (on Eclogae VIII, 75: numero deus impare gaudet—on the superstition that odd numbers are propitious.

Students of Petronius will do well to read Wolters' notes on pp. 61-67, 84, and 90 where he discusses the subject of throwing wine under the table to avert fire, and the changing of a ring from one hand to the other to avert death (Petronius, Satyricon 74, 2).

Dr. Wolters has read widely in both original and secondary sources, often, however, with slender critical sense. Several lapses may be noted. The author, in mentioning various instances of weather-lore (pp. 88 and 139), might have called the reader's attention to Eugene S. McCartney's contributions to this interesting subject. He seems nowhere to be familiar with the work of H. J. Rose on primitive elements in Greek and Roman religion.

The book would have profited by some editing of its English style. Infelicities like the following are not rare: carmina "one example of which can even boast of a successful practice of 830 years (p. 6); a plaustrum is called a "freight-cart" (p. 47); superstition has its origin "in the ever in itself returning form of the ring" (p. 63). There are a few typographical errors: sorcerer (p. 8); months counting (p. 19); medicine (p. 26); suggests (p. 64); but

on the whole the work is well proofread. The bibliography is brief, the index adequate.

Dr. Wolters has made a good start in editing one passage in Pliny the Elder that concerns superstition. It is to be hoped that he, or others, will continue the work.

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# Bints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, Berkeley Institute, 181 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, New York. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

#### A Roman Calendar

- MENSIS FEBRUARIUS (from februum, an instrument of purification)
- 1 KALENDAE FEBRUARIAE Natalis Herculis.

Iunoni Sospitae. The temple of Juno Sospita in the Forum Holitorium, which had been vowed in 197 B.C. by the consul Cornelius Cethegus, was dedicated on this day.

346 B.C. M. Valerius Corvus triumphed over the Antiates, Volscians, and Satricanians.

280 B.C. Ti. Coruncanius triumphed over the Vulsinians and Vulcians.

266 B.C. N. Fabius Pictor triumphed over the Sallentinians and Messapians.

233 B.C. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus triumphed over the Ligurians.

189 B.C. L. Aemilius Regillus triumphed over King Antiochus.

- 2 A.D. IV NON. FEB.
- 3 A.D. III NON. FEB.

178 B.C. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus triumphed over the Celtiberians and Spaniards.

50 B.C. In Laodicea Cicero received a letter sent from Rome on September 22, 51. It had been five months in transit!

4 PRIDIE NON. FEB.

Ludi Gothici. These games lasted through the

178 в.с.	L. Postumius	Albinus	triumphed	over
the Lu	usitanians and	Spaniard	s.	

A.D.	211.	Septimius	Severus	died	at	York	in
B	ritain						

## 5 Nonae Februariae

216 B.C. The temple of Concordia in arce was dedicated.

266 B.C. D. Iunius Pera triumphed over the Sallentinians and Messapians.

65 B.C. By giving the signal before his men were ready Catiline frustrated his plan to assassinate the new consuls.

50 B.C. Cicero opened court in Laodicea.

49 B.C. Cicero was now convinced that there was no possibility of peace.

2 B.C. Augustus was acclaimed as "Pater Patriae" by the Senate and the Roman people.

6 A.D. VIII ID. FEB. 7 A.D. VII ID. FEB.

8 A.D. VI. ID. FEB.

ED.

9 A.D. V ID. FEB.

10 A.D. IV ID. FEB.

11 а.р. ш Ір. Ғев.

12 PRIDIE ID. FEB.

13 IDUS FEBRUARIAE

Favonio. This day marked the beginning of spring.

56 B.C. As they attempted to address the assembly Pompey and Clodius were so heckled by each other's factions that neither could be heard. Rioting broke out and Clodius was forcibly ejected.

49 B.C. Cicero surveyed the political situation and abandoned Italy to Caesar.

56 B.C. P. Sestius was indicted. At his trial Cicero defended him and secured his acquittal.

49 B.C. Pompey summoned Cicero to join him at Lucina.

## Ludi Genethliaci.

Parentatio tumulorum incipit. The dies parentales or days of worshiping the dead began at the sixth hour. Until February 22 all temples were closed, marriages were forbidden, and magistrates laid aside their insignia. The parentatio of the Vestals was at the tomb of Tarpeia, who had been a Vestal.

Fauno in insula. Sacrifices were offered to Faunus.

- ca. 390 B.C. The siege of Rome by the Gauls was lifted.
- 293 B.C. L. Papirius Cursor triumphed over the Samnites.
- 14 A.D. XVI KAL. MAR. 15 A.D. XV KAL. MAR.
- Lupercalia. In 44 B.C., as he concluded the circuit of the Palatine in celebration of this wolf festival, Antony offered a crown to Caesar. Caesar refused it.
- 45 B.C. Tullia died about this time.
- 16 a.d. xiv Kal. Mar. 17 a.d. xiii Kal. Mar.

#### Quirinalia.

- Fornacalia. This feast of ovens was a curia festival.
- 361 B.C. T. Quinctius Pennus Capitolinus Crispinus triumphed over the Gauls.
- 350 B.C. M. Popillius Laenas triumphed over the Gauls.
- 322 B.C. L. Fulvius Corvus triumphed over the Samnites.
- 276 B.C. Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges triumphed over the Lucanians, Samnites, and Bruttians.
- 273 B.C. C. Claudius Canina triumphed over the Lucanians, Samnites, and Bruttians.
- 167 B.C. L. Anicius Gallus triumphed over King Genfius and the Illyrians.
- A.D. 364. The Emperor Jovian died.
- 18 a.d. xii Kal. Mar.
- 361 B.C. C. Sulpicius Peticus triumphed over the Hernicians.
- 322 B.C. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus triumphed over the Samnites and Apulians.
- 19 A.D. XI KAL. MAR.
- 49 B.C. Corfinium surrendered to Caesar about this time.
- A.D. 197. The most violent struggle between Roman armies since Philippi occurred near Lugdunum (Lyons), when Septimus Severus defeated Albinus, a rival for the throne.
- 20 A.D. X KAL, MAR.
- 49 B.C. Pompey summoned Cicero to Brundisium.
- 21 A.D. IX KAL. MAR.
- Feralia. This was the oldest and best-known of the *dies parentales*, and the only one on which a public festival was celebrated.

	49 B.C. Pompey left Canusium in the morning, and Caesar set out at noon from Corfinium in pursuit of him.
22 a.d. viii Kal. Mar.	Cara cognatio. Their duties to the dead com- pleted, the living reunited in a family festival and worship of the family Lares.
23 a.d. vii Kal. Mar.	Terminalia. Feasts and songs were sung in honor of Terminus, the deity of the boundary-stone.
	175 B.C. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus triumphed over the Sardinians.
24 a.d. vi Kal. Mar.	Regifugium. Most Romans believed the Tarquins had been expelled on this day.
	49 B.C. Cicero learned of the surrender of Cor- finium.
	A.D. 303. The first of the famous persecution edicts against the Christians was published.
25 A.D. V KAL. MAR.	49 B.C. Pompey was in Brundisium.
	A.D. 138. At his villa in Lorium Hadrian adopted Antoninus Pius as his son and successor. The occasion was commemorated by the establishing of the Lorio circenses.
26 A.D. IV KAL, MAR.	A.D. 364. Valentinian was proclaimed emperor at Nicaea.
	A.D. 493. After a four-year siege Odoacer sur- rendered at Ravenna to the Ostrogoth, Theodoric.
27 A.D. III KAL. MAR.	Equirria. The horse-racing on this day and on March 14 were believed to have been estab- lished by Romulus in honor of Mars.
	A.D. 288. Constantine the Great was born at Nish in Jugoslavia.
28 PRIDIE KAL. MAR.	

# Games with Words

**During February** 

There are several interesting games by means of which word formation may be taught. For example, the teacher may divide

(Arles).

agenda of the Senate.

Ninth, and Tenth Philippics.

Foreign affairs formed the chief topics in the

43 B.C. Cicero delivered the Seventh, Eighth,

A.D. 317. Constantine II was born at Arelate

the class into two groups and distribute a duplicate set of suffixes to each team, making one pupil in each team responsible for just one suffix. Then ask the contestants to give the Latin word, e.g., which means "one who trades." The team whose -tor player is the first to stand receives one point. The game is won by the team having the highest score, or by the first to win a given number of points.

Write each suffix on a small card. Make as many sets as there are people playing. Each pupil holds a set. The one who is the first to raise his card containing the correct suffix receives the point. The individual with the high score or who wins a set number first, wins.

Write a number of suffixes on the board. At a signal the pupils begin forming a word for each suffix. The first pupil or team to finish wins. This game may be played in stages, two or three suffixes at a time, so that there is more opportunity for the various groups to score.

Divide the class into teams and give each player on the teams a Latin suffix or prefix so that the two teams have identical lists of suffixes and prefixes. Write an English word on the board. The first team to produce its players who hold the prefix or suffix or both used in the word scores the point.

Here is an interesting guessing game: divide the class into two or more teams. Each team comes to class with a list of "hidden identities." One of the players rises and says, "I am one who discovers." The team which offers "inventor" first, wins. A member of the second team then rises and gives a second "identity," e.g., "I describe something full of danger"—periculosus. The teams continue in rotation, one member at a time. This game may be played either by teams or by individuals. It may also be carried on over a period of time. Let different pupils make up two or three "hidden identities" each day and present them in class for the others to guess. The pupil who has the highest score at the end wins.

The teacher must exercise a little caution in order not to allow the games to cover too wide a field at any one time. Care must also be taken to guard against the forming of wrong words or of nonexistent words. Words furnished by the pupils must be checked before they are used in class.

These games are often extremely helpful as variations in drilling on lesson vocabularies or in reviewing vocabulary lists. Moreover they stimulate an active interest in looking out for new words and in solving the meanings of new words.

### "Human Interest" Column

Reading material becomes vivid and real when definite and deliberate emphasis is laid upon it. As one means of doing this, Maude E. Bryan, of E. G. Kingsford High School, Iron Mountain, Michigan, recommends a "Human Interest" column, to which pupils and teacher alike may make contributions.

Suggestive items offered from her Caesar classes are:

A Marriage of Convenience: Dumnorix marries the daughter of Orgetorix to cement a political alliance.

Corruption in High Places: Orgetorix, Casticus, and Dumnorix form a triumvirate similar in purpose to one formed by three famous Romans.

A Man who Exceeds his Authority Comes to Grief: Orgetorix promises Casticus and Dumnorix that he will seize control of Helvetia and conquer their states for them. When the plot is reported to the Helvetians, Orgetorix loses everything, including his life.

Crafty Diplomacy: The Helvetians tell Caesar that the road through the province is their only way into Gaul, although they know that there is another, even if harder, route.

"Seeing Things": The story of Considius.

Religion on the Battlefield: The Romans delay three days before pursuing the defeated Helvetians in order to give their dead the rite of burial and thus ensure their passing into the underworld.

International Law; Ambassadors are inviolable, as the Veneti learn when the seizure of Caesar's legates brings swift punishment.

### From Stars to Myths

For about six weeks at the beginning of the year my Latin II students read in Latin stories from mythology, and we always supplement our translation with the reading of additional myths in

English. This year we approached our outside reading by talking first about stars. I have a simple little book which tells how to locate various stars by using the Big Dipper as a landmark. The first day I showed the students this book, drew on the board a chart of the Big and Little Dippers, and told the class that they were not really dippers but Callisto and her son, turned into bears because of Juno's anger and transferred to the sky because of Jupiter's pity. When they asked if more stars had stories like that, I asked if they would like to look in the indexes of our mythology books and find out. Enthusiastically they did so and of course found many references to stars and constellations. So we formed a plan to learn the stories of these constellations, and also how to find the constellations themselves.

Two or three times a week, in addition to the regular lesson, we learned one or two of our star stories. Two students would volunteer to present a particular story: one would draw on the board a diagram showing how to find the star or constellation by starting from the Big Dipper, and the other would tell the myth connected with it. The class would take notes and ask questions. After all the stories were given, each student put all his material, charts and stories, in a booklet to keep. These booklets are very attractive; many are made of blue paper with the charts drawn with white or gold ink, and some have gold paper stars pasted on blue or black paper. The students are very proud of their books and have learned some worth-while things about the stars besides the most familiar myths. They read the astronomy notes in scientific magazines and offer bits of information to the rest of the class. The other day one boy told us excitedly that astronomers thought that one of the stars in Cassiopaeia was going to explode, and everyone was dismayed at the thought that Cassiopaeia would no longer have a chair to sit on!

FANNYBELLE KISER

NEENAH, WISCONSIN

1 White, W. B., Seeing Stars: Cleveland, Harter Publishing Co. (1935).

# Current Ebents

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John B. Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Dwight N. Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., or to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.

## Foreign Language Section, Department of Superintendence, National Education Association

We take pleasure in publishing herewith the program of the Foreign Language Section, Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, of the National Educational Association. Our members are urged to attend this meeting.

> Meeting organized under joint auspices of National Federation of Modern Language Teachers

> > and

The American Classical League.

Program submitted by James B. Tharp, Ohio State University,
Columbus, Ohio

#### PROGRAM

FOREIGN LANGUAGE SECTION

Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, N.E.A.

Department of Superintendence

New Orleans, Monday, February 22, 1937, 2.30 P.M.

#### TOPIC

"Foreign Language Study in the High School of the Future"

- a) What are the implications of Progressive Education?
- b) What is the valid role of the junior high school?
- c) Should senior high school courses be autonomous or aim at college continuance?

#### ROUND TABLE

Three specialists will present their cases during the first hour:

- a) "General Language," Lilly Lindquist, Supervisor of Foreign Languages, Detroit Schools.
- b) "Classical Languages," A. Pelzer Wagener, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia
- c) "Modern Languages," Walter V. Kaulfers, Stanford University, California

#### PANEL OF EDUCATIONAL CRITICS

The second hour will be given to a panel discussion of the material presented at the Round Table by a panel composed of representatives of the following areas:

- a) "Secondary Education"—H. B. Alberty, Ohio State University, Chairman
- b) "Educational Psychology"—M. R. Trabue, Director, Division of Education, University of North Carolina
- c) "High School Principal"—Lestor Dix, Associate Director, Lincoln School, Teachers College, Columbia University
- d) "Classical Languages, Teacher Training"—W. L. Carr, Teachers College, Columbia University
- e) "Modern Languages, Teacher Training"—R.O. Roseler, University of Wisconsin
- f) "Curriculum Construction"—T. H. Briggs, Teachers College, Columbia University
- g) "Measurement and Evaluation"—R. W. Tyler, Research Director, Evaluation in the Eight-Year Study, Commission on the Relation of School and College

#### OPEN FORUM

### University of Iowa

The Nineteenth Annual Conference of the Classical Teachers of Iowa was held at Iowa City December 4-5, and the program was carried out almost to the letter as already published in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL for November. A pleasing addition to the program, however, consisted of musical numbers by Mr. Spiros Stamos, of Chicago, on the ἐκατοντάχορδον, οτ ἐπιγόνυον, the tradi-

tional instrument which has been used for centuries by the Greek peasants for the accompaniment of their folk songs. The attendance was much larger than usual, and the spirit of the sessions extremely encouraging.

## Moline, Illinois

The Latin Department of the Moline High School presented its biennial play Friday, November 13, 1936, repeating a successful performance of "Dido and Aeneas," by Erna Kruckemeyer, given six years before. Colorful costumes, those owned by the department, supplemented by others from the University of Illinois, combined with the elaborate staging and lighting to please a large audience. The cast of eighty-six, including choruses and aesthetic dancers, trained through the coöperation of their respective departments, added much to the beauty and interest of the presentation. Incidental music, both as an integral part of the play and between the acts, was furnished by a string quartette, the whole combining to make an instructive and finished production.

#### The Kentucky Classical Association

The Kentucky Classical Association met at Berea College on November 6 and 7. The guest speaker was Professor M. L. Laistner, of Cornell University, who spoke on "Isocrates and Humanistic Education." At the annual dinner the Association was welcomed by President W. J. Hutchins, of Berea. Sister Margaret Gertrude, of Nazareth Junior College, President of the Association, replied with the presidential address on "The Apostle Paul and Humanism." The following papers were read: "Cosmos and Human Nature," by Walter Muelder, Berea College; "The Commercial Vocabulary of Early Latin As Seen in Plautus," by Jonah W. D. Skiles, Louisville Public Schools; "The Value of Latin in Practical Life," by Miss Elizabeth Colegrove, Ashland High School; "The Characterization of Julius Caesar in Recent Fiction," by Miss Sibyl Stonecipher, Western Kentucky State Teachers College; "Designs in Translation," by Miss Mary Ela, Berea College; and "The Latin of Augustine and Aquinas," by Sister Laurine, Mount Saint Joseph Academy. Latin songs were rendered by the College Men's Glee Club of Berea College. A tea and reception were given at the Faculty Club in honor of the Association. The local committee consisted of Misses Katharine T. True, Helen Clark, Mary E. Williams, Charlotte P. Ludlum, and Mary E. Baker.

The officers for the coming year are: president, J. R. Boyd, Louisville Male High School; vice president, Miss Charlotte P. Ludlum, Berea College; secretary-treasurer, Sister Emily, Nazareth College; corresponding secretary, Miss Elizabeth Colegrove, Ashland High School; and secretary of extension, Miss Ruby Rush, Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College.

#### Rhode Island

The Rhode Island Section of the Classical Association of New England met at the Classical High School, Providence, on October 23 at two P.M., in

conjunction with the Rhode Island Teachers Institute. In the absence of the president, Brother Anthony, of La Salle Academy, the secretary, Professor Russel M. Geer, of Brown University presided. Professor Geer announced the resignation of the president, Brother Anthony. It was the sense of the meeting that Professor Geer should act as president until the annual meeting in February, 1937. Mr. John H. Munroe, of Brown University, the speaker of the afternoon, described his experiences as a reader for the College Entrance Examination Board and made suggestions about common faults in the preparation of students as shown by the examinations. An animated discussion followed.

# Societas Linguae Latinae

The fall meeting of the Societas Linguae Latinae, the Rhode Island State Latin Club, was held on December 1 at the Cranston Senior High School, Auburn, Rhode Island. Thirteen high- and junior high schools were represented by delegates to the Comitia and by students interested in Latin with a total attendance of 279. The following schools were represented: Barrington High School, Hugh B. Bain Junior High School, William A. Briggs Junior High School, Burrillville High School, Central Junior High School, East Providence High School, Classical High School, Central Falls High School, Hope Street High School, LaSalle Academy, East Greenwich Academy, Rogers High School, Valentine Almy Junior High School, and Norwood Avenue Junior High School.

The Reverend Earl H. Tomlin, D.D., of the Calvary Baptist Church, gave an illustrated talk on Rome. Following this an election of officers was held by the delegates who composed the *Comitia Centuriata*, which was in accordance with Roman custom.

Edward Carr of Cranston High School presided. The officers elected are as follows: consuls, G. Eliott Rice, of Classical High School, and Ruth Van Dyke, of Hope Street High School; quaestor, James Hadfield, of East Providence High School; scriba, Constance Farwell, of Classical High School; augur, Edward Carr, of Cranston High School; curule aedile, Elizabeth Budlong, of Cranston High School; plebeian aedile—Fourth Year, Donald Hoff, of Burrillville High School; plebeian aedile—Third Year, George Williams, of Classical High School; plebeian aedile—Second Year, Frederick Irving, of Classical High School; plebeian aedile—First Year, Ruth Cunningham, of Central Junior High School.

Among the faculty sponsoring the affair were: Dr. O'Neill, Head of the Latin Department, Providence College, the author of a recent book on Latin prose; Dr. Russell M. Geer, Associate Professor of Greek and Latin, Brown University; Rev. Father Fanning, Assistant in the Latin Department, Providence College; Dr. R. P. Johnson, Instructor in Latin and Greek, Brown University; Brother Cornelius, Head of the Latin Department, LaSalle

Academy; Mr. Holden, Principal of Barrington High School; and the following heads of Latin Departments: Miss Waddington, East Providence High School; Miss Keefe, Burrillville High School; Miss Giles, East Greenwich Academy; Mr. Beers, Hope Street High School; Miss Taylor, Central Falls High School; Miss Watson, Barrington High School; and Miss Holt, Cranston High School.

This student organization is a project of the Rhode Island Branch of the New England Classical Association and has been sponsored by the following committee: Miss Edythe Reeves, Cranston High School, chairman; Miss Blodgett, Hugh B. Bain Junior High School; Miss Slocum, Classical High School; Miss Waddington, East Providence High School; Mr. Duffy, Henry Barnard, and Dr. Johnson, Brown University.